Shaping the Stranger Churches

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Shaping the Stranger Churches

Migrants in England and the Troubles in the Netherlands, 1547–1585

By

Silke Muylaert

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It has been quite a journey. I somehow started off researching late medieval Bruges' goldsmiths in Belgium years ago and ended up examining Elizabethan foreign churches in England, only now to find myself in the Netherlands interested in Reformers in the Dutch Republic. The people I have met along the way have made this odd route extra interesting. Every department I have studied and worked in has taught me a new set of skills and outlook. To begin with, I am very grateful for having had a brilliant and supportive supervisor at Ghent University, where I originally studied. Jan Dumolyn's advice on how to approach research on the goldsmiths proved very educational and inspiring. I would like to thank him for his lasting support. During my doctoral studies, my incredible advisors Kenneth Fincham and Andrew Foster taught me how to write a doctoral thesis. I would not have succeeded without their trust in me and will not forget their kindness and team work. I have received similar support from several members of staff and colleagues at the School of History and the Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies at the University of Kent, such as Ryan Perry, Amy Blakeway, Philip Boobbyer, Barbara Bombi, Rebecca Warren, and most prominently Crosbie Smith. I could not believe my luck that towards the end of my doctoral research, I found a group of incredibly kind scholars who shared my passion for the foreign churches and Reformed migration. It has been an absolute pleasure to have been working alongside Mirjam van Veen, Jesse Spohnholz, Inge Schipper, and Peter Gorter on a project about the Rhineland Exiles at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam for the past two years and to have learned so much from each of them.

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The academic world can be competitive. I have seen people turn nasty out of that strive for excellence and egotistical ladder-climbing. Over the years, however, I have encountered so much kindness, even at times when I was stuck. I have found that such kindness and willingness to listen and to exchange ideas has always been more helpful than that competitive spirit. It is out of collaboration and mutual trust that good things grow. A great example of such kindness was the unexpected offer from the respected scholar Alastair Duke to help edit the manuscript to this book since English is not my native language. It must have taken him many hours to correct my manuscript. It is to this academic kindness and in particular to those kind people mentioned here in these acknowledgements whom I admire very much, that I dedicate this book.

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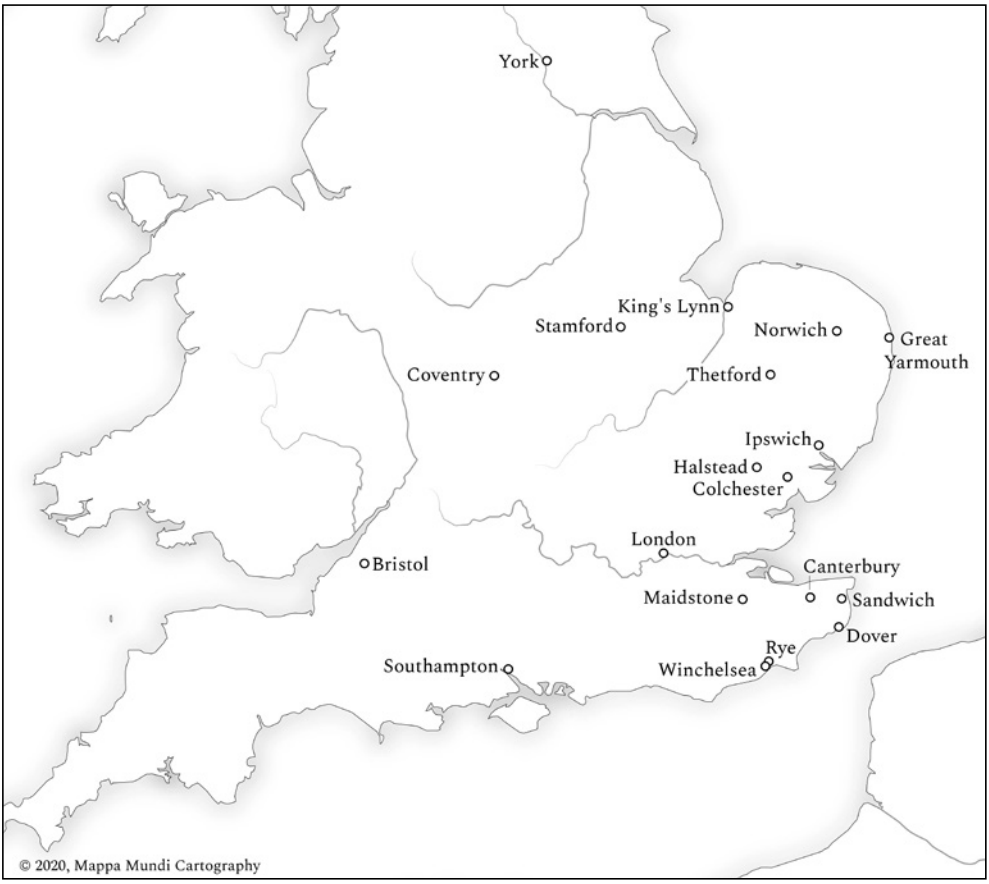
Maps



MAP 1 Locations of the foreign churches in England between 1559 and 1585
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MAP 2 The Low Countries in the second half of the sixteenth century and their geographical position in relation to the foreign churches
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Abbreviations

Acta	*Acta van het consistorie van de Nederlandse gemeente te Londen 1569–1585*, ed. by Auke J. Jelsma & Owe Boersma (The Hague, 1993).
Acten van de Colloquia	*Acten van de Colloquia der Nederlandsche Gemeenten in Engeland, 1575–1609*, ed. J.J. van Toorenenbergen, Werken der Marnix-vereeniging. 2nd ser., 1 (Utrecht, 1872).
Actes du Consistoire I	*Actes du Consistoire de l'Eglise Française de Threadneedle Street, Londres, I: 1560–1565*, ed. Elsie Johnston, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 38 (Frome, 1937).
Actes du Consistoire II	*Actes du Consistoire de l'Eglise Française de Threadneedle Street, Londres, II: 1571–1577*, ed. Anne M. Oakley, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 48 (London, 1969).
Archivum	*Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum. Epistulae et tractatus*, ed. Johannes H. Hessels, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1887–1897).
Backhouse	Marcel Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities at Sandwich during the Reign of Elizabeth I (1561–1603)*, Klasse der Letteren 57, no. 155 (Wetteren, 1995).
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives.
Colloques et Synodes	*Les Actes des Colloques des Églises Françaises et des Synodes des Églises Étrangères en Angleterre 1581–1654*, ed. Adrian Chamier, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 2 (Lymington, 1890).
Kerkeraads-protocollen	*Kerkeraads-protocollen der nederduitsche vluchtelingen-kerk te London, 1560–1563*, eds. Aart A. van Schelven, Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap (gevestigd te Utrecht), 3rd ser., 43 (Amsterdam, 1921).
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives.
Pettegree	Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986).
Spicer	Andrew Spicer, *The French-speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567–c. 1620*. Southampton Record Series, 39 (Stroud, 1997).
TNA	The National Archives, Kew.

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Unity in Multiformity	*Unity in Multiformity. The Minutes of the Coetus of London, 1575 and the Consistory Minutes of the Italian Church of London, 1570–1591*, eds. Owe Boersma and Auke J. Jelsma, Publications of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 59 (London, 1997).

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Introduction

In May 1576, the Dutch Church of Colchester asked the colloquium of the Dutch churches in England whether or not they should admit people who had left England for the Low Countries to fight as rebels or plunderers pretending to be in the service of Prince William of Orange to the Lord's Supper, and, moreover, whether they could still consider them to be brethren. Though such people frequented the foreign churches and in all probability their families still resided in England, the churches questioned their allegiances on religious and political grounds. In their eyes plundering and disorderly violence constituted sinful behaviour which the churches could not tolerate. Readmitting people involved in such activities could also prejudice the churches' relationships with the English authorities.[1] This question illustrates a typical dilemma confronting the foreign churches concerning obedience to God and the sociopolitical reality in the Elizabethan period. From their early days they struggled with the notion of violence. When Reformers increasingly started resisting secular and religious authorities in the Low Countries, the exile churches experienced division on the issue. How far might members go out of godly zeal in their attempts at promoting what they considered to be the righteous church? Could they use violence or support military resistance to secular authorities? Similar questions divided Lutheran and Calvinist theological movements throughout the sixteenth century but also informed practices in the foreign churches. Reformers often found themselves trapped between sin and godly zeal, or in other words between a desire to further the religious cause and the boundaries of obedience. The founding fathers of the foreign churches, John à Lasco, Jan Utenhove, Wouter Deleene, and Martin Micronius had postulated in their writings in the 1550s that good Christians respected godly order and resisted violence. This standpoint, which derived from the Pauline doctrine of obedience, clashed with growing resistance against persecution among Reformers in the Low Countries from 1560 onwards where similar questions on violence surfaced. This violence could range from small acts of resistance, for instance taking arms to hedge preaching or prison breaking, to violent

1 Acten van de Colloquia, pp. 29–30. The notion of 'pretending' is vital to understanding the problem. While it could refer to independent plunderers, it seems more likely to refer to their involvement with Sea Beggars or other groups indirectly relatable to Orange via captains serving him but over whom he had little control. Sea Beggars used war tactics that the stranger churches considered disorderly, ungodly, as I will show later. Elizabeth I regularly complained about the effect the plundering of boats had on English trade.

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iconoclasm, robbery, piracy, plundering, military action without valid commission, or organized resistance to the God-ordained ruler.

The dilemma over just how far one should go to promote the faith also resurfaced in questions over church organisation and support for congregations in the Low Countries. By the 1570s the churches considered to what extent they should financially and otherwise support the revolt and the Reformed churches in the Low Countries, but also other foreign churches. Hence, I do not only focus on revolt or violence, but also on the way the foreign churches interacted with each other and the churches in the Low Countries. The notion of obedience to God-ordained authorities also played a role in church government since consistories demanded authority to enforce discipline on its members. Consistories that assumed too much authority over their members, were, like the Habsburg government in the Low Countries, accused of acting tyrannically. Indeed, the question over whether one could use violence or resist civil authorities raised fundamental issues for the foreign churches because arguments about resistance also provoked discussions about church government and authority. This book explores the dilemmas which the Reformation and the Revolt in the Low Countries raised for the foreign churches in England and how these affected their functioning and cooperation with each other. I argue that such dilemmas and questions were symptomatic of the turbulent first decades of the Elizabethan foreign churches and hindered concerted action towards the Low Countries. This book is thus about the (dis)engagement of the foreign churches with religious and political developments in the Netherlands.[2] The role of the foreign churches in the Dutch Reformation and Revolt became complicated because of conflicting loyalties, for instance loyalty to their own churches, to England, or to diverse theological values concerning obedience. The foreign churches remained divided on the topic of violence for political and religious purposes in the Low Countries for longer than has been assumed, while also struggling to respond adequately to growing ecclesiastical demands from the Low Countries. To an extent that has not hitherto been acknowledged in the historiography of the Dutch Revolt and Reformation, social and intellectual struggles, ecclesiastical pluriformity and differing understandings of religious freedom, as well as financial and political uncertainty affected the churches.[3] The churches could give no clear strategical lead to the Revolt

2 I want to thank Raingard Esser and an anonymous reviewer for inspiration in formulating this and the previous sentence.

3 In this respect my work contributes to the changing views on the confessional character of the refugee communities which Jesse Spohnholz is bringing forward: see his "Exile Experiences and the Transformations of Religious Cultures in the Sixteenth Century: Wesel, London, Emden, and Frankenthal", *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*, 6:1 (2019), 43–67. See

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and the Reformation in the Low Countries. The exile churches were neither bastions of resistance nor paragons of Calvinists doctrine. The most influential ecclesiastical model in the Low Countries which had come out of England remained that of the Strangers' Church under Edward VI.

One of the ways in which this book differs from the numerous other books about the foreign churches, is that I use a comparative perspective to re-evaluate the tensions within the foreign churches concerning their role in the Dutch Reformation and Revolt. Others scholars who have focused on the foreign churches usually studied just one provincial church or the churches in London solely and have not or only partially focused on these questions.[4] Most studies focus on the social, economic, and ecclesiastical aspects of the institutions and refugees, albeit with sporadic comments on the connection between refugees and the Low Countries. Raingard Esser and Andrew Spicer, for instance, have studied specific communities to show what light these throw

---

also Patrick Collinson, "Europe in Britain: Protestant Strangers and the English Reformation", in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, eds. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Portland, 2001), pp. 57–67.

4 See for instance the following authors: Raingard Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996). Her work updated the previous study on the Norwich migrants by William J.C. Moens, *Walloons and their Church at Norwich. 1565–1832.* 2 vols, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 1st ser. (Lymington, 1887–1888). Beate Magen described the Walloon Church at Canterbury in her *Die Wallonengemeinde in Canterbury von ihrer Gründung bis zum Jahre 1653* (Bern/Frankfurt, 1973). This study followed the older work of F.W. Cross, *History of the Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 15 (Lymington, 1898; reprint 1969). See also: Andrew Spicer, *The French-speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567–c. 1620*, Southampton Record Series, 39 (Stroud, 1997). William Moens also gave an introduction to the Dutch Church in Colchester in his *Register of Baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645 to 1728*, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 12 (Lymington, 1905). Recently Nigel Goose has focused on the Dutch Church in Colchester in "The Dutch in Colchester in the 16th and 17th Centuries: Opposition and Integration", in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, eds. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton, 2001), pp. 88–98. See also: Owe Boersma, "Vluchtig voorbeeld: De Nederlandse, Franse en Italiaanse vluchtelingenkerken in Londen, 1568–1585" (PhD diss., Theologische Academie Kampen, 1994); Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement c. 1550–1700*, with an Afterword by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, trans. Peregrine and Adriana Stevenson (Cambridge, 1991); Marcel Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities at Sandwich during the Reign of Elizabeth I* (1561–1603), Klasse der Letteren 57, no. 155 (Wetteren, 1995); Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Brighton, 1985, 2nd ed., 2001); Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986); Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2011).

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on the issues of confessionalization and networks. Two earlier notable trends are visible in the historiography of the foreign churches in England; a focus on the economic significance of the migrants and a more recent emphasis on questions of integration with the host community and on xenophobia.[5]

The argument in this volume also differs from those of other scholars of the foreign churches in that their narratives often build on the traditional view that there must have been an inevitable willingness among the foreign churches to come to the aid of the Revolt and Reformation in the Low Countries, with some reservations about this willingness in the Dutch Church in London. This was especially the case in Andrew Pettegree's social history of the London stranger churches and in Owe Boersma's analysis of the discipline and cooperation between churches in London. This book seeks to redress the emphasis on the militancy of exiles while placing the exceptionalism of London in a broader context. The militant element of the foreign churches comes to the fore already in Marcel Backhouse and Andrew Spicer's studies. Backhouse's work on Sandwich has focused on the connections between the churches and the Continent in terms of networks of resistance against secular authorities in the Westkwartier.[6] Spicer's study on the Southampton's strangers contains large sections focusing on the origins and ongoing connections between Southampton's immigrants and the Continent, while also touching upon their involvement in privateering.[7] Yet the militancy of groups within these places at a few given moments, for instance the prison breaking from Sandwich in the 1560s, does not tell the whole story of the way the churches engaged with the Low Countries and experienced division in the 1560s and 1570s. Division concerning the use of violence also arose within Sandwich and Norwich, for instance.

5 The economic significance of the migrants has led the debate about the strangers in London for the last century and a half. The latest study on the theme of the economic value of the refugees is Lien Bich Luu's *Immigrants and the Industries of London 1500–1700* (Aldershot, 2005), which provides a good introduction to the historiography of the economic evaluation of the foreigners, pp. 2–15. The latest trend in the historiography of the foreign churches has been a focus on xenophobia and integration, potentially influenced by a modern concern surrounding migration. Laura Hunt Yungblut investigated integration, governmental policies towards the aliens in the reign of Elizabeth I, and xenophobia in her monograph *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (London/New York, 1996). Nigel Goose also picked up on the latter theme in his article "'Xenophobia' in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England: An Epithet Too Far?", in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Brighton, 2005), eds. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu, pp. 110–35.

6 Backhouse, see abbreviations for the full title.

7 Spicer, especially pp. 2–15, 127–140.

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Countless studies on the Reformation in the Low Countries and the causes and political thought of the Dutch Revolt exist which at least consider the views of the foreign churches. While Martin van Gelderen has asked whether a specifically 'Dutch' political thought concerning resistance developed on the eve of the Dutch Revolt, my concern is to demonstrate how religious and political notions of resistance played out in practice in the religious communities of the stranger churches and how this affected the foreign churches' engagement with the Reformation and the Revolt in the Low Countries.[8] This book also differs from previous studies on the foreign churches in that it puts the question of the relationship between the foreign churches in England and the Revolt and Reformation in the Low Countries at the centre of comparative research and builds upon twenty years of new historiographical insights in order to review the significance of refugee churches for the Dutch Revolt.[9]

An analysis of the connections between the churches and the Low Countries also broadens our understanding of the exile experience(s), and the problematic nature of that term. Recent research concerning exile communities in the lower Rhineland is slowly starting to reveal the extent of coexistence among confessions as well as the religious and political pluriformity of Dutch migrants.[10] Thus far, too little attention has been paid to unorthodox religious and political views among the Dutch communities in exile. It is time to review that picture in relation to the theme of migration and resistance so we can better understand exile experiences and the way they shaped returning refugees.

That differing views concerning resistance existed among Reformers is not particularly surprising to Reformation historians or to historians of the Dutch Revolt. Auke Jelsma has demonstrated how the Reformed churches in the Low

8 Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555–1590* (Cambridge, 1992).

9 No recent broader monograph examining the ways in which the foreign churches in England experienced and acted in the Dutch Revolt exists. This does exist for Emden, however. Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992) demonstrates the importance of London for both Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries.

10 Achim Dünnwald, *Konfessionsstreit und Verfassungskonflikt: Die Aufnahme der nierderländischen Flüchtelinge im Herzogtum Kleve 1566–1585* (Bielefeld, 1998); Heinz Schilling, "Die niederländischen Exulanten des 16. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zum Typus der frühneuzeitlichen Konfessionsmigration", *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 43 (1992), pp. 67–79, and Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh, 1972); Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark/Plymouth, 2011), showing a broad range of coexistence strategies. See publications from Jesse Spohnholz, Mirjam van Veen, Inge Schipper, Peter Gorter, and myself that should come forth from the *The Rhineland Exiles and the Religious Landscape of the Dutch Republic, c. 1550–1618* project in the next few years.

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Countries also struggled with any potential involvement with politics or revolt, while Juliaan Woltjer has emphasized the importance of 'moderates' on all sides of the conflict of the Dutch Revolt.[11] Such 'moderates' had difficult relationships with both staunch Catholics and Reformers competing for the ascendancy in their own church. Guido Marnef has demonstrated the religious and sociopolitical dynamics shaping the *Wonderjaar*.[12] Yet, discussion concerning negotiation between these sides has usually been limited to the parties within, not outside, the Low Countries, or more specifically to differences in toleration of other religions, rather than to godly obedience. It is clear from records of the foreign churches that the interpretation of obedience informed the decisions of Reformed Protestants. The dilemma of the boundaries between sin and godly zeal was strongly present in the exile churches. The churches in exile constantly negotiated and renegotiated their allegiances in the light of both theological views and practical social and political circumstances.

Rethinking the connections between the refugee churches and Revolt and Reformation in the Low Countries also has implications for our understanding of radicalization and confessionalization in exile. While scholars widely use the terms radical and radicalisation to describe religious zealots of all kinds, the term has always been highly problematic. Scholars do not always specify what they mean when talking about radicalization. In the larger Reformation context the term 'radical' is associated with George William's work on those Protestants who did not conform to magisterial Protestant thought.[13] His work, and criticism of his use of the term 'radical', usually concern the early Reformation in a German context.[14] While the terms 'radical'

11 Auke Jelsma, "The 'Weakness of Conscience' in the Reformed Movement in the Netherlands: The Attitude of the Dutch Reformation to the Use of Violence between 1562 and 1574", in *The Church and War. Papers read at the twenty-first summer meeting and the twenty-second winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. William J. Sheils (Oxford, 1983), pp. 217–29, and Auke Jelsma, *Frontiers of the Reformation: Dissidence and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 1998); Synthesis in Jan Juliaan Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog: Over de Nederlandse Opstand, 1555–1580* (Amsterdam, 1994).

12 Guido Marnef, "The Dynamics of Reformed Militancy in the Low Countries: The Wonderyear", in *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands*, eds. N. Scott Amos and Andrew Pettegree (London, 1999), pp. 193–210.

13 George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1962).

14 To give one example of well-researched criticism of the term 'radical' for the early Reformation in the Holy Roman Empire: Adolf Laube, "Radicalism as a Research Problem in the History of Early Reformation", in *Radical Tendencies in the Reformation: Divergent Perspectives*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, IX (Missouri, 1988), pp. 9–24.

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and 'radicalization' have regularly been under scrutiny in the context of the early Reformation, later Reformation and Counter-Reformation movements in the Low Countries could benefit from more studies invoking a cautious approach to the term.

In the context of the foreign churches and the Revolt and Reformation in the Low Countries, I identified two meanings for the related terms 'radical' and 'radicalization'. The terms might refer to either political or military zealousness, or to extreme confessional or theological views. The first category pertains to those who, among Reformers, allowed violence and resistance against both secular and Catholic church authorities for the sake of religion. Among this group, I also count those who had Reformed sympathies and served in guerrilla groups but only had a very shallow understanding of Reformed ideology and those with hispanophobic agendas. I attach these understandings to my usage of the term 'militant' throughout the book. Despite hesitations concerning violence and how to deal with godly zeal from the side of the foreign churches, comments on the role of the refugee churches in the Dutch Revolt have often resurfaced in Dutch historiography. Scholars have often emphasized those Reformers who joined the Wood Beggars, a group of guerrilla fighters in the Westkwartier area of Flanders, or the Sea Beggars, and the militant ministers who returned to the Low Countries to preach. Exile thus became associated with turning Reformers into militants. Second, the nineteenth-century historian Robert Fruin divided the Reformed between the *rekkelijken*, that is the more religiously and politically tolerant part, and the *preciezen*, or staunch Calvinists, usually from the southern Netherlands.[15] The terms have broadly come to mean those who envisaged broad city churches run by close inspection of civic authorities (*rekkelijken*) versus those had a more narrow vision of the churches, usually described as a church of the 'elect' and independent from state oversight (*preciezen*). But, as this book will show, this model is too simple. In the later historiographical context of church formation of the 1570s in the Low Countries, the terms 'radical' or 'Calvinist' came to be associated with intolerance of other confessions and with a fierce defence of the

15 Robert Fruin, "De voorbereiding in de ballingschap van de gereformeerde kerk van Holland", *Archief voor Nederlandsche kerkgeschiedenis*, 5:1 (1894), 1–46; critical of this work are Doede Nauta, "Wesel (1568) en Emden (1571)", in his *Opera Minora. Kerkhistorische verhandelingen over Calvijn en de geschiedenis van de Kerk in Nederland* (Kampen, 1961), pp. 30–56, and R.H. Bremmer, *Reformatie en Rebellie: Willem van Oranje, de calvinisten en het recht van opstand. Tien onstuimige jaren: 1572–1581* (Franeker, 1984), pp. 67–74.

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independence of secular authorities of Reformed churches, a state Reformers had experienced in exile.[16]

Militant can also, however, be a term that describes religious zealousness. A process of radicalization in exile could have turned someone into a militant Reformer through processes of confessionalization. This book will also shed some light on such processes. The degree of religious radicalization and confessionalization in exile is difficult to ascertain. According to Heiko Oberman, the notion of sacral communities of the elect along Calvinist ideology was ideally suited for refugee communities and he named the London stranger churches as an example.[17] Andrew Pettegree has similarly raised the possibility that refugees often had only vague evangelical ideas but became strict Calvinists in exile.[18] Scholars have ascribed this notion of identity building to the exile churches as they portrayed them as places for radicalization, both Reformed and Catholic.[19] While in some descriptive contexts, a reader can guess what is meant, the usage of the term often leaves room for interpretation. In such cases, the word radical conveys negative connotations for modern readers, as an act of taking something too far and posing a societal social danger. The term radical thus helps little in understanding sixteenth-century history. The foreign churches constantly had to renegotiate their existence and their stance towards a pluriformity of opinions.[20]

16 Jan Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek, 1572–1630: Een demografische en cultuurhistorische studie* (Sint-Niklaas, 1985), p. 309; also visible more indirectly in other studies such as A.J.M. Beenakker, *Breda in de eerste storm van de opstand: Van Ketterij tot Beeldenstorm, 1545–1569* (Tilburg, 1971), p. 151; Christine Kooi, *Liberty and Religion: Church and State in Leiden's Reformation, 1572–1620* (Leiden, 2000), p. 39; Aart A. van Schelven, *Omvang en invloed der Zuid-Nederlandsche immigratie van het laatste kwart der 16e eeuw* (The Hague, 1919), pp. 50–53.

17 Heiko A. Oberman, "*Europa afflicta*: The Reformation of the Refugees", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 83 (1992), 91–111.

18 Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, esp. pp. 226–51.

19 Building on Reformed exile historiography, Geert Janssen has convincingly argued that Catholics became receptive to militant strands of Catholicism in exile. See Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2014); Janssen, "Exiles and the Politics of Reintegration in the Dutch Revolt", *History*, 94 (2009), 36–52 (p. 39); Janssen, "The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee: Exile and the Shaping of Catholic Militancy in the Dutch Revolt", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63:4 (2012), 671–92; Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (Oxford, 2011).

20 Also on the pluriform character of Dutch Reformed thought see W. Nijenhuis, "Variants within Dutch Calvinism in the Sixteenth Century", *The Low Countries History Yearbook 1979: Acta Historiae Neerlandicae*, 12 (1979), 48–64.

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Apart from the conceptual problems with the term radicalization, it is generally open to question to what extent their exile turned Reformers into radicals in practice. Mounting evidence shows that radicalization did not simply take place in exile. Instead, Phyllis Mack Crew's assertion that ministers in the Low Countries turned politically radical out of desperation and turned to Calvinism and to the Huguenots as a result of the persecutions after the Iconoclastic Fury, shows the influence of events in the Low Countries, rather than in exile.[21] Despite Crew's work, recent histories of religious exile have persisted, as Mirjam van Veen has pointed out, in describing exile as "a catalyst for radicalisation". She demonstrated that exile and radicalization are not necessarily linked, as libertine Reformers also lived in exile. She has shown that the potential characteristic of radicalization in exile has been exaggerated.[22] Van Veen and Jesse Spohnholz have, moreover, pointed out the historiographical origins of this overemphasis on radicalism in exile for the Dutch Reformation.[23] In the light of recent turns in historiography against radicalism in exile, it is well worth asking what really took place in exile, and how the foreign churches reacted to events in the Low Countries. I too have noticed that exile did not necessarily engender militant radicalism. Nor did exile of itself consolidate a sense of common identity. On the contrary, it magnified the conflicts among Reformers between a militant, zealous side and a group which espoused what Ethan Shagan has called a sense of coercive moderation.[24] This led some migrants to reject the stranger churches and encouraged them to join local, English churches. At the same time the churches became largely complacent with their life in England and settled into their position among their English coreligionists.

Until now, most historians agreed that there was a clear link between resistance and refugees; they simply suggest that the refugees had a straightforward influence on the Reformation in the Low Countries and the Dutch Revolt and suppose that the refugees were militant in their views. The foreign churches' primary sources show another side of their involvement, or rather

21 Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544–1569* (Cambridge, 1978, reprinted 2008), pp. 179–80.

22 Mirjam van Veen, "Dirck Volckertz Coornhert: Exile and Religious Coexistence", in *Exile and Religious Identity 1500–1800*, eds. Jesse Spohnholz and Gary K. Waite (London/New York, 2014), pp. 67–80, reiterating the words of Janssen, "The Counter-Reformation", p. 108.

23 Jesse Spohnholz and Mirjam G.K. van Veen, "The Disputed Origins of Dutch Calvinism: Religious Refugees in the Historiography of the Dutch Reformation", *Church History*, 86:2 (June 2017), 398–426.

24 Ethan H. Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2011).

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lack of involvement. The churches did send money and ministers to the Low Countries on several occasions, but the churches' attitudes towards the Dutch Revolt were cautious, or, as Andrew Pettegree described them, ambivalent.[25] Pettegree recognized an underlying problem with a straightforward recognition of the support the foreign churches gave to the Low Countries, though he assessed their help to the Revolt as "certainly crucial to the military effort".[26]

The connection between exile and resistance can be studied from different perspectives, for instance through the lens of a social history of the congregations themselves, as I do here, from the viewpoint of the secular government in England or in the Low Countries, or through an analysis of the networks. While the final two approaches tend to focus on militants, the first path offers a broader perspective on the diversity of opinions among those in exile. Taking this approach further, I compare the responses of the foreign churches in England with one another in order to discover what shaped particular views. Comparative research of this sort has some disadvantages: in this case the research is naturally based on the surviving source material, much of which derives from the records of the Dutch Church of London. In searching for answers to my questions concerning the (dis)engagement of the churches with the Low Countries, I have read three types of well-trodden source material more closely than previous scholars have done.

The first type of source relates to the organisational structures of the churches. Most churches have no surviving consistory records, while those of the London churches, despite containing hiatuses, are very rich for the period under consideration.[27] There is, however, a hiatus in the Dutch consistory acts between 1565 and 1569, and in the French ones between 1566 and 1571. We do

25 Andrew Pettegree, "The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar", in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium* (*Exeter, 30 August–3 September 1988*), eds. J. van den Berg and P.G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), pp. 80–99 (p. 83).

26 Andrew Pettegree, "Coming to Terms with Victory: The Upbuilding of a Calvinist Church in Holland, 1572–1590", in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, eds. Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, and Gillian Lewis (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 160–80 (p. 161). The latter is also a conclusion to which David Trim, from the perspective of the military side of the Revolt, adheres. His work partially addresses my research questions but lacks an understanding of the working and limitations of the foreign churches since it does not focus on the church institutions. David J.B. Trim, "Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'. The Employment of English and Welsh Mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562–1610" (PhD diss., King's College, University of London, 2002).

27 For the Dutch Church: Kerkeraads-protocollen; Acta. For the French Church: Actes du Consistoire I; Actes du Consistoire II; Library of the French Protestant Church of London, Soho Square, Ms. 3 Registre des Actes du Consistoire, 1578–1589.

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not have any consistory sources for this crucial period. The previously mentioned Dutch sources and other sources of the Dutch Church which have not been printed, amongst others deacons' memoranda books and membership lists, can nowadays be found at the London Metropolitan Archives, while an account book from the French Church can be consulted in the library of the French Protestant Church of London at Soho Square.[28] The remaining consistory acts of the Italian Church (1570–1591) have been published together with the reports of the Coetus meetings that assembled the stranger churches in London (1575–1598) but these are not extensive.[29] With the exception of the Italian sources, these consistory records provide very rich sources. They are representative considering the rich detail though presumably pastors and elders did not record everything that was talked about in consistory meetings or between consistory members concerning disciplinary cases.[30] These lacunae make it impossible to compile reliable quantitative data. Similar concerns apply to other organisational sources. The Dutch and French churches in England regularly assembled separately for colloquia from respectively 1575 and 1581 onwards.[31] These documents indicate the collaboration between the foreign churches but also their financial and disciplinary struggles. It is one way of overcoming the shortcomings of the study in terms of the lack of sources for the smaller communities which met in these colloquia.

For smaller communities most of the evidence consists of municipal records, such as the Little Black Book in which the Sandwich city council kept ordinances and membership lists regarding the strangers in their city.[32] For Norwich there is a Dutch and Walloon Strangers' Book of Orders of 1564 to 1643 as well as several membership lists.[33] Uniquely, the Walloon Church at

28 LMA, CLC/180 Dutch Church, Austin Friars (collection), for instance CLC/180/MS07400 Deacons memoranda and petty imbursement books, CLC/180/MS07397 Acta books of the Consistory, CLC/180/MS07414 Summary of the dispute in the London Dutch Church concerning the safeguarding of doctrine and ministry, CLC/180/MS35158 Charter of Edward VI, CLC/180/MS07407 Register of contributors to students' fund; Library of the French Protestant Church of London, Soho Square, Ms. 194 Deacons' Accounts, 1572–1573.

29 Unity in Multiformity, p. 26.

30 Judith Pollmann, "Off the Record: Problems in the Quantification of Calvinist Church Discipline", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33:2 (2002), 423–38.

31 Acten van de Colloquia; Colloques et Synodes.

32 Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone, Sa/Ac4 The Little Black Book, Sa/Ac5 The New Red Book. For the Walloon Church of Sandwich an account book for the period 1568–1572 also survives.

33 Norfolk Record Office, MC 189/1, 634X3(a) Record of the 'politijcke mannen', NCR Case 17d/9 Book of orders, FC 29 French Walloon Church.

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Canterbury has remaining consistory records available from 1576 until 1584.[34] A register of the Walloon Church of Southampton survives under the name "Register of the Church of St. Julian, or God's House, of Southampton".[35]

As second valuable source for the study of the consistories' connections with the Low Countries and with other refugee churches consist of their letters. The main body of letters related to the foreign churches is printed in the *Ecclesiae Londino-Bataviae Archivum*, a series of four volumes edited by Jan Hendrik Hessels in the late nineteenth century, which covers the correspondence of the London Dutch Church. The letters show a regular correspondence with other Reformed churches, as well as with the Privy Council.[36] These letters allow for a close reading in comparative perspective. Unfortunately, there are some cases where only drafts of letters survive and others where we do not have the letters which the London churches sent in the first place. As much of this material has been used by previous scholars, I cannot claim to have discovered new sources but what I do offer is a detailed analysis of the discourse in these sources in relation to authority, resistance, and violence.

Finally, I have examined publications springing from the Strangers' Church and the foreign churches as a third source in order to understand the religious and political discourses concerning resistance that underpinned the views and behaviour of members of the foreign churches. By embedding their writings in the wider intellectual context of contemporary religious and political works, I have sought to highlight normative vocabulary used in the source material.[37] As I assessed the sources I reflected on the purpose of these writings and on the meaning of what was written. The pamphlets were rhetorically designed to fulfil political and social ulterior motives, yet the letters and consistory records, though revealing normative vocabulary of Reformed circles, provided more straightforward information.

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34 CCA, U47/A1–5 Actes du Consistoire.

35 TNA, RG4/4600 Foreign Churches: 1567–1779 Walloon Church of St. Julian or God's House of Southampton (Walloon and French Protestant).

36 Archivum.

37 Martin van Gelderen's work on the political thought of the Dutch Revolt has helped define this context as he himself reconstructs normative vocabulary within a historical and intertextual approach inspired by Quentin Skinner's work. See van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, pp. 5–15 on methodological developments in intellectual history and interpretive approaches to texts built on the work of Quentin Skinner, J.G.A. Pocock, and their critics [Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Vol. 2: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge, 1978); J.G.A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History* (Cambridge, 1985); James Tully, ed., *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics* (New Jersey, 1988)].

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The rhetoric of order and obedience was not peculiar to the foreign churches alone. Religious movements, especially the three main ones – Lutheranism, Catholicism, Calvinism – developed systems for the disciplining of their members as they further elaborated their own distinctive rituals, dogma and propaganda. Heinz Schilling saw connections between this social disciplining and confessionalization, and thus with state formation.[38] Within the Reformed churches social disciplining went hand in hand with social control through the consistories. The churches served a select community, in many places alongside other confessions. This facilitated the imposition of strict moral standards on their members as well as a system through which consistories were able to discipline members for unorthodox behaviour. Much has been written about the perceived advance of social disciplining in the second half of the sixteenth century. There are also many studies which describe in much detail the discipline within particular churches, showing how they dealt with, for instance, marital problems and adultery, yet little comparative research exists.[39] The concept of confessionalization, with its inherent social disciplining, has also inspired studies on the architecture of the time and even affected guild history.[40] The vocabulary of order and discipline within religious denominations and political thought was nothing new, of course, but common language during the sixteenth century. In striving for social order and discipline,

38 Among other work of Gerhard Oestreich, *Geist und Gestalt des frühmodernen Staates* (Berlin, 1969); Ernst Walter Zeeden, "Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe", *Historische Zeitschrift*, 185 (1958), 249–99; Heinz Schilling, *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung: Eine Fallstudie über das Verhältnis von religiösem und sozialem Wandel in der Frühneuzeit am Beispiel der Grafschaft Lippe* (Gütersloh, 1981); Heinz Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich: Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620", *Historische Zeitschrift*, 246 (1988), 1–45; Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment", *Catholic Historical Review*, 75:3 (1989), 383–404.

39 For instance, Herman Roodenburg, *Onder censuur: De kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam, 1578–1700* (Hilversum, 1990); Heinz Schilling, "Sündenzucht und frühneuzeitliche Sozialdisziplinierung: Die Calvinistische presbyteriale Kirchenzucht in Emden vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert", in *Stände und Gesellschaft im Alten Reich*, ed. G. Schmidt (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 265–302.

40 Among many other works, see Brend Roeck, "Early Modern Architecture: Conditioning, Disciplining, and Social Control", in *Social Control in Europe, Volume 1, 1500–1800*, eds. Herman Roodenburg and Pieter Spierenburg (Columbus, Ohio, 2004), pp. 132–42; Maarten Prak, "Moral Order in the World of Work: Social Control and the Guilds in Europe", in *Social Control in Europe, Volume 1*, eds. Roodenburg and Spierenburg, pp. 176–99; for more examples and a short summary see R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (London, 1989), p. 21.

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English court records, for instance, use the vocabulary of order.[41] A recent article also emphasized the tendency to speak about 'order' in legislation within the Catholic Low Countries after Tridentine stipulations.[42] Yet, we should not underestimate the impact of the rhetoric of order and obedience evident in church discipline. Comparison between the rhetoric of order and the actions the churches took towards events in the Low Countries shows the importance of the notion of godly order. Recent work on Romans 13 shows similar conclusions as it demonstrates the ubiquity and the impact of the notion of obedience on rebellions in Reformation England.[43]

The tension concerning obedience and resistance which the Reformed Protestants under consideration in this book experienced was not unique. Martin Luther had felt similar tensions. He pointed out, through Romans 13, that obedience to the earthly powers which God had ordained as rulers was a godly command. Resistance to such authorities would thus have been a sin. He also, however, emphasized that people should obey God above men. This in turn meant that people should not obey earthly commands if these disrespected godly order. The first rule, obedience to authorities, suited Luther well when he used it to reject the German Peasants' War between 1524 and 1525. Under the threat of the Imperial attacks on the Lutheran Protestants in 1530, Luther started doubting his non-resistance claim. He, together with other German Protestants, proclaimed the idea of a legal right of resistance in the Torgau Declaration after meeting with lawyers who made a strong case for the legality of resistance. Two legal theories of resistance sprung from this. First, one based on Roman law, which stipulated that force could be used to mitigate unjust force, and that Charles V was using unjust force in imposing his will over the spiritual realm of the people. A second, so-called constitutional, theory posited that when a ruler – in the case of 1530 Charles V – transgressed

41 A few examples: Ralph Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation, 1520–1570* (Oxford, 1979); Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker (eds.), *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early modern England* (London, 1994); more recently Martin Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge: Regulating Sex in England, 1470–1600* (Cambridge, 2017).

42 Nicolas Simon, "The Council of Trent and its Impact on Philip II's Legislation in the Habsburg Netherlands (1580–1598)", in *Church, Censorship and Reform in the Early Modern Habsburg Netherlands*, eds. Violet Soen, Dries Vanysacker, and Wim François (Turnhout, 2017), pp. 201–16.

43 A book on Romans 13 by Steven Foster will soon appear; see the already published work of Steven Foster, "'To take the Sword is to Draw the Sword without the Authority of the Prince': Obedience, Duty and Romans 13 During the 1549 Rebellions in England", *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, 22:1 (2020), 25–47.

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the constitution, inferior magistrates had the duty to intervene and resist.[44] Calvin held similar ideas concerning non-resistance as Luther, but also added the caveat that men should obey God above all. He also argued that sometimes 'popular magistrates' had also resisted tyranny in the past, though by the time the situation in France became untenable, Calvin became more convinced of a right of resistance for private people too.[45] It is not the aim of the present book to offer a thorough analysis of the political theories concerning resistance within the foreign churches, but rather to show the effect of division and doubt on the relationship between the churches and the Low Countries. Yet, as we will see, the second theory gained influence among the strangers.

As I have already said, this book examines the churches in a comparative perspective, both geographically and chronologically; it does so by comparing communities during the time of Edward VI and the Elizabethan period. The existence of foreign churches was, of course, vital for the development of Reformed thought. The churches provided a lifeline for Reformers in the Low Countries searching a haven. During the sixteenth century, England knew two clusters of foreign churches, meaningful for the development of Dutch Reformed thought. The first churches in exile, especially the Strangers' Church in London, served as models for Reformed churches in the Low Countries. Edward VI had first permitted the foundation of churches for strangers fleeing religious persecution on the Continent in 1550. He granted a charter to the continental strangers in the city of London, allowing them to celebrate the communion according to their own Reformed customs and language. Under the guidance and superintendence of the Polish baron John à Lasco, Edward promised these church communities a residence in the old church of Austin Friars.[46] As Mary came to the throne after the death of Edward VI, she eventually revoked this privilege and ordered the Reformed community to leave the country, though many secretly stayed.

Under Queen Elizabeth, Reformed strangers again flocked to England as the Queen promised a renewal of certain privileges of the charter in 1560, albeit under the supervision of the Bishop of London.[47] In the 1560s, strangers in London had several foreign churches to pick from; as there was a Dutch or Flemish church, a French or Walloon church, an Italian church, and,

44 van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, pp. 62–108; Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Vol. 2: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge, 1978), 119–206; *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Cambridge, 2003).

45 van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, pp. 67–68, referring to John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1983), p. 675.

46 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 14, pp. 4–7.

47 For a broad outline of the settlement negotiations see Pettegree, pp. 133–71.

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occasionally, a Spanish congregation. As we will see in chapter 1, the stranger churches grew more independent from each other during this period and received many waves of religious refugees. The foreigners held an extraordinary position in English society with religious and economic privileges which helped to accommodate its poor members. The book thus concentrates on the timespan that covers a part of the reign of Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603), that is 1558 to 1585, with occasional references to the Strangers' Church and its leading figures under Edward VI (1547–1553), and to their exile under Mary I (1553–1558). The reason why the research stops at 1585 is the change in situation brought by the official involvement of England in the war in the Low Countries.

Prior to this involvement, the foreign churches were aware of the precarious position of their stay in England, and therefore a study concerning the foreign churches' relationship with the Low Countries cannot neglect English politics. Political reasons also lay behind the question raised at the meeting of 1576 mentioned at the start of this introduction, as the churches had to keep the goodwill of the English, who had similar quarrels with Orange. Despite their welcome to England, Reformers hoped to return to their places of origin one day. In January 1559 the Protestant theologian Peter Martyr Vermigli proclaimed his happiness about the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne in a letter to Jan Utenhove, a Flemish nobleman and leading figure in the formation of the Strangers' Church under Edward. Elizabeth's accession incited Vermigli's hope that she would continue her half brother Edward VI's diligence in reforming the English Church. Being optimistic about Elizabeth's intentions concerning religion, Vermigli decided to dedicate one of his forthcoming books to her. In the same letter Vermigli reported rumours that Philip II of Spain had announced that "nobody shall suffer death for the sake of religion" at Valladolid, in Spain, and that Philip would shortly proclaim the same in Flanders.[48] Such a declaration in the Low Countries, which were under Philip's rule, promised to halt the persecution of religious dissenters and therefore their need to seek refuge in more tolerant countries. However, this optimistic promise remained unfulfilled; instead, the persecution of religious dissidents intensified, forcing thousands of refugees towards the foreign churches in England.

Vital to understanding changes in views within the stranger churches is the recognition that waves of immigrants with different experiences in the Low Countries moved to England constantly. Jacob Bucer, a Dutch Reformed minister, commenting on the influx of Dutch migrants in 1562, noted that "such multitudes flock daily" to the Dutch churches in England because of

48 Archivum, 2, Letter 35, pp. 107–9.

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"the persecution in Flanders".[49] Not all the refugees crossed the Channel for religious motives though, and by no means did everyone join the churches after they arrived. The Returns of Aliens of 1573 recorded 7,143 aliens within the city of London, and 35 per cent of those questioned said that they had come to England solely "in search of employment", rather than for religious reasons.[50] While the questionnaire presented two mutually exclusive reasons for migration, motivations were more often mixed. Spicer has also pointed out that many foreigners claimed to be "of no church", and that these were often people who tried to conceal their real faith or people who might attend foreign churches but were not prepared to become members.[51]

Scholars should also use the term 'exile' cautiously, as the description can divert us from the high mobility and socioeconomic opportunities underlying religious migration.[52] The term exile can cause confusion. Alexander Schunka believes migrants used the term increasingly in the sixteenth century to denote "religiously motivated self-perceptions of someone being temporarily removed from his or her homeland".[53] Geert Janssen also points out its semantic meaning of "formal banishment", and prefers to use the term, as I do, interchangeably with that of refugee, and even fugitive, as boundaries were often blurred.[54] This means that this book will not be dealing with all migrants in England but only with those attached to existing foreign churches. The French Church reported counting 342 members at the Lord's Supper in May 1564, men and women. By December 1565 that number had gone up to 410.[55] Yet the actual church attendance might have been higher. While participation in the Lord's Supper was only available for members, many symphatisers did not

49 Ibid., Letter 68, pp. 208–9.

50 Lionel Williams, "The Crown and the Provincial Immigrant Communities in Elizabethan England", in *British Government and Administration. Studies presented to S.B. Chrimes*, ed. H. Hearder and H.R. Loyn (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 117–31 (p. 117).

51 Andrew Spicer, "'Of no church': Immigrants, *liefhebbers* and Confessional Diversity in Elizabethan London, c. 1568–1581", in *Forgetting Faith? Negotiating Confessional Conflict in Early Modern Europe*, eds. I. Karremann, C. Zwierlein, and I.M. Groote (Berlin, 2012), pp. 199–220.

52 Alexander Schunka, "Konfession und Migrationsregime in der Frühen Neuzeit", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 35:1 (2009), 28–63; Schunka, "No Return? Temporary Exile and Permanent Immigration among Confessional Migrants in the Early Modern Era", in *Migrations in the German Lands, 1500–2000*, eds. Jason Coy, Jared Poley, and Alexander Schunka (New York, 2016), pp. 67–87.

53 Alexander Schunka, "Migrations in the German Lands: An Introduction", in *Migrations in the German Lands*, eds. Coy, Poley, and Schunka, pp. 1–34 (p. 5).

54 Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile*, p. 10.

55 The numbers of the French Church can regularly be found in their consistory acts, around the times of their Lord's Supper. For instance, Actes du Consistoire 1, pp. 59, 123.

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become members.[56] In June 1561, under inquiry from the Bishop of London, Edmund Grindal, the Dutch Church reacted to rumours that there could have been as many as 40,000 foreigners in both foreign churches. In response it stated that it had around 227 married men among its members.[57] Including children and young unmarried men and women, both church communities probably counted between one thousand and two thousand members in the first half of the 1560s, but the number of fellow countrymen present in London was certainly much higher.

It is a matter of speculation how many immigrants were living in London and the rest of England in general, but it seems that a minority did not join either the stranger churches or the parish churches.[58] Between 1550 and 1585 some 40,000 to 50,000 foreign refugees may have come over to England.[59] In comparison, the Spanish ambassador in England in 1572 estimated that about 20,000 subjects of the Spanish King Philip II, originating from the Low Countries, lived in England.[60] The majority of the aliens resided in London and Westminster in 1567, as much as 75 per cent, appears to have originated from the Low Countries.[61] Since it is impossible to give exact numbers of the alien population in London during the reign of Elizabeth, for these were constantly fluctuating depending on events in the Low Countries and France, it is hard to tell what percentage of the immigrants in London became members of the London stranger churches. After the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566, the prosecution of religious dissidents increased in the Netherlands and more refugees fled to Germany or England. At the same time the size of the congregations decreased in periods of plague. Plague severely struck the London Dutch Church in 1562, for instance, when several of its consistory members died.[62] If we accept Lien Bich Luu's estimate that alien immigrants formed perhaps ten per cent of London's population in the early 1570s, then the population of immigrants would have accounted for up to 10,000 migrants.[63] This again suggests that many foreigners did not join the congregations.

56 Spicer, "'Of no church'", p. 208.
57 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 210.
58 Spicer, "'Of no church'", p. 206.
59 Pettegree, p. 299.
60 Kenneth H.D. Haley, *The British and the Dutch: Political and Cultural Relations through the Ages* (London, 1988), p. 32.
61 Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us*, p. 14, as quoted in Raymond Fagel, "Immigrant Roots: The Geographical Origins of Newcomers from the Low Countries in Tudor England", in *Immigrants*, eds. Goose and Luu, pp. 41–56 (p. 41).
62 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 202.
63 Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries*, p. 97; Pettegree, p. 299; see also Vanessa Harding, "The Population of London, 1550–1700: A Review of the Published Evidence", *The London Journal*, 15:2 (1990), 111–28.

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Due to the sudden influx of destitute refugees in the 1560s, the London community could hardly sustain its members. Gradually, the presence of migrants from the Continent increased outside London. The Privy Council granted privileges to some of these settlements at the request of either representatives of the stranger groups themselves, or of the city councils, which recognized a certain economic value in the presence of these exiles. The earliest Elizabethan foreign church outside of London was that of Sandwich, which Queen Elizabeth officially recognized in 1561.[64] Sandwich, in the county of Kent, was a convenient port through which many of the new migrants arrived from the Continent. The French-speaking members of this community moved to Canterbury in 1575 as the community became larger.[65] Similarly, in 1565 the Norwich Dutch and French churches opened and a part of the Sandwich community relocated to this congregation.[66] Other communities of Reformed strangers were established at Rye, Winchelsea, Halstead, Colchester, Great Yarmouth, Southampton, Maidstone, Dover, York, Thetford, Stamford, Coventry, Ipswich, and King's Lynn.[67] As local records for these smaller communities are usually unavailable, we are dependent on references in the archives of the London Churches or the local town archives.

The immigrants moved frequently between settlements as well as between England and the Low Countries. They did not only make crossings under the pretext of trade but also to visit relatives or friends, with the risk of civic authorities apprehending them. Nor did the strangers remain isolated from the

64 According to Backhouse, a small Flemish colony in Sandwich asked for official recognition from the local authorities in May 1561. By July 1561 Elizabeth I signed the Letters Patent. See Backhouse, pp. 17–18. The London Dutch consistory also discussed the negotiations for the new settlement. A written record of this can be found in, Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 192–93.

65 Backhouse, pp. 34–35.

66 *Letters Patent from Queen Elizabeth I*, 1 Nov. 1565, as referred to and edited by Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, 2, pp. 244–45, and Raingard Esser, "Strangers within the Gates: Dutch and Walloon Refugees in Norwich", *Westhoek Info*, 8:1 (April 1992), 28–34 (p. 29).

67 For further information about the history of the foundation of these settlements check: Fernand de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, 3 vols (Paris, 1892), vol. 1, pp. 292–303 (Rye and Winchelsea); *Register of Baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester*, ed. Moens, pp. v–vi (Colchester and Halstead); Cross, *History of the Walloon & Huguenot Church*, pp. 3–8, 12–21, 62–64 (Canterbury); van Schelven, pp. 189–90 (Halstead), 199–200 (Maidstone), 200–201 (Yarmouth and Stamford), 202 (Ipswich, Thetford, and King's Lynn), 203 (Dover), 204 (Coventry); Valery Morant, 'The Settlement of Protestant Refugees in Maidstone during the Sixteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, n.s., 4:2 (1951), 210–14 (p. 211) (Maidstone); Spicer, pp. 2–34. For the community in Glastonbury during the reign of Edward VI see H.J. Cowell, "The French-Walloon Church at Glastonbury, 1550–1553", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 13 (1923–29), 483–515 (p. 484); and others mentioned in the first pages of the introduction. See Map 1.

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Continent during their residence in England. A large network of correspondence connected the churches in England with the Reformed and Calvinist churches across the Channel.[68] The nature of these networks varied, sometimes emphasizing mercantile links, to family relations, or bonds of religious identity. The geographic location of the foreign churches in England facilitated these networks since most foreign churches were situated in the South and East of England. Geographically the thesis focuses on England and the Low Countries and specifically on the links between both areas through the migrants in England originating from the Continent.

The communities in England, and especially in London, formed one of the main exile communities, which, especially during the time of Edward VI, belonged to an international Reformed network of exiles. The foreign churches shared features with refugee communities on the Continent, Catholic and Protestant, and in this way formed part of a period of heightened migration from and to the Low Countries. Moreover, exile in the early modern period was a cross-confessional phenomenon.[69] Protestant migrants from the Low Countries also fled to refugee communities in the Holy Roman Empire. Exile communities existed in Emden, Wesel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Aachen, in the lower Rhine area, and in Cleves, and refugees also took shelter in other places like Frankenthal, Bremen, and even Nuremberg.[70] These communities similarly provided poor relief and education in order to relieve the local community of any such burdens, avoiding local agitation.[71] In the English case, and probably likewise in the Rhineland, the involvement of the foreign churches in resistance in the Low Countries was not straightforward.

At the same time, exile movements of Catholics existed, especially from the 1570s onwards, when the Reformers attempted to dominate the northern Netherlands. Both confessions found support for the harsh conditions of exile in biblical examples of exile and their exile experiences showed many

68 The Archivum illustrates this clearly.

69 See for instance Schunka, "Konfession und Migrationsregime"; Heinz Schilling, "Die frühneuzeitliche Konfessionsmigration", in *Migration in der europaïschen Geschicthe seit dem späten Mittelalter*, ed. Klaus J. Bade (Osnabrück, 2002), pp. 67–89.

70 See Heinz Schilling's comparative study *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert: ihre Stellung im Sozialgefüge und im religiösen Leben deutscher und englischer Städte* (Gütersloh, 1972); Robert van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten, Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550–1600)* (Cologne, 1968). More detailed studies concerning these migrants in the Holy Roman Empire should soon spring from Mirjam van Veen and Jesse Spohnholz's project *The Rhineland Exiles and the Religious Landscape of the Dutch Republic, c. 1550–1618*.

71 See also Jesse Spohnholz, "Calvinism and Religious Exile During the Revolt of the Netherlands (1568–1609)", *Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, 32:3 (2014), 235–64 (p. 239).

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similarities. Catholic refugees also formed letter networks and provided education through Jesuit schools. Janssen presented the radicalization argument by demonstrating that many Catholic refugees became more militant while in exile, making plans to recatholicize the Low Countries, while some had opposed the oppressive regime of the Duke of Alba, Philip II's adviser.[72] Catholic exile and former bishop Willem Lindanus proposed Catholic exiles to take top functions in ecclesiastical and secular government in the Low Countries in order to strengthen resistance against Protestantism in 1578. In the following decade, Catholics returned to the Low Countries and wiped out memories of Protestantism in the south, which Janssen termed 'Catholic iconoclasm', thus impacting the Counter-Reformation in the southern Netherlands.[73]

Apart from their religious differences, the communities in exile also brought people from different parts of the Low Countries together. In this respect we need to remember that the geographical boundaries of the Low Countries have changed considerably throughout history.[74] In the sixteenth century they encompassed contemporary Belgium and the Netherlands as well as parts of northern France. During the reign of Elizabeth I this region was composed of duchies and counties united under the rule of Philip II of Spain, who reigned from 1555 to 1598. These territories were independent in the high Middle Ages, before the Burgundian and Habsburg houses united them, and displayed varying regional cultures. It was and still is easy to confuse these regional identities, such as Flemish or Frisian, with the terms 'Dutch' and 'German'. The name 'Flemish' does not solely reflect the county of Flanders but contemporaries often used it as a trademark, or a *pars pro toto*, for the whole region of the Low Countries. The sixteenth-century travel guide author Ludovico Guicciardini provided some reflections on this phenomenon: "Ceste partie du Roy communement s'appelle le Païs Bas, de leur basseur vers la mer Oceane. Pareillement presques par toute l'Europe s'appelle Flandres: prenant vne partie pour le tout, à cause de la puissance et splendeur d'icelle Region".[75]

There was also a 'Walloon' identity within the Low Countries. Alastair Duke identified the Walloon regions linguistically as Artois, Namur, Hainault, French

72 Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 119–20.

73 Ibid., pp. 120, 140–45.

74 See Map 2.

75 Ludovico Guicciardini, *Description de tout le Païs-Bas autrement dict la Germanie inferieure ou Basse-Allemagne* (Antwerp, 1568), p. 4; Alastair Duke also remarks on the use of the *pars pro toto* in "The Elusive Netherlands: The Question of National Identity in the Early Modern Low Countries on the eve of the Revolt", in: *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, eds. Alastair Duke, Judith Pollmann, and Andrew Spicer (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 9–56 (pp. 10–39).

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Flanders, and Rommanbrabant.[76] The inhabitants of these regions in the Low Countries spoke a variant form of French. This is not to be confused with the Walloon part of present-day Belgium; it also embraced parts of what is nowadays northern France. Robert Stein has argued that the linguistic division was not clear-cut and that people communicated with ease across languages.[77] The French-speaking Walloon refugees from the Low Countries typically attended the French-speaking French or Walloon churches. The French Church in London therefore contained refugees from the Low Countries and France.

In this study, I usually refer to the Elizabethan foreign churches of London as stranger churches, and I use the name Strangers' Church to describe the London Reformed foreign churches under Edward VI. The use of 'church' in the singular to denote the foreign churches during the time of Edward VI refers to the unity among the churches which John à Lasco shaped. Under Elizabeth, however, the churches appeared less unified and lost their independent superintendent. From this moment onwards, it is more suitable to speak about several churches, as they did themselves. The churches used a variety of names to describe themselves throughout Elizabeth's reign. The name of the French Church refers to the French language, even though the church could also be referred to as a Walloon church because of its large Walloon membership. Officers of this church routinely referred to the other foreign churches as "les églises estrangières", or the strangers' churches throughout its sources. The Dutch Church received and assumed various names, among which "the Flemish Church" "Ecclesia Germanica", "Ecclesia Belgica", "Ecclesia Londinogermanica", "(Neder)Duytscher ghemeynte", and "Ecclesia Belgico Germanica". Even within the church, members used different terms, for instance when in 1577 Godfried van Winghen signed a document as the minister of the "Ecclesia Londinogermanica", while Joris Wybo wrote that he was the minister of "Ecclesia belgiogermanica" in the same document.[78]

In modern historiography, the foreign Reformed churches in London have become known as the "stranger churches" in the Elizabethan period, sometimes spelled with capital letters, despite its grammatical shortcomings, or alternatively as "refugee churches", "exile churches", or "foreign churches", which are other potential interpretations of the word "peregrinorum" through which

76 Duke, "The Elusive Netherlands", p. 19.

77 Robert Stein, "Introduction", in *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650*, eds. Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 149 (Leiden/Boston, 2010), pp. 1–41 (p. 16).

78 Archivum, 2, Letter 117, pp. 410–11.

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the churches used to describe themselves.[79] I will regularly use these terms to offer some variation. When I refer to the 'stranger churches' I often mean those of London, while 'foreign churches' will usually refer to all the refugee churches in England. Similarly, the names of Reformers relating to the churches can differ in spelling as well as in the use of vernacular and Latinized forms. I have adopted the forms of the names which I believe to be most common among historians, such as Nicholas des Gallars, Godfried van Winghen, Peter Deleene, Martin Micronius, and Adriaan van Haemstede. Lastly, I prefer the word Reformed to Calvinist in the context of the Low Countries. The founding members of the stranger churches were not strictly Calvinist.[80] Only the French Church was under Calvinist leadership. I use the term Reformer to refer to anyone who joined the movement for ecclesiastical and theological reforms in line with the theological views of Calvin, Bullinger, and Zwingli in the Low Countries; people who were distinctly not Anabaptist, Catholic, or Lutheran.

This book consists of six chapters. Each chapter considers how the churches affected revolt or reformation and conversely how, in turn, at different times, events in the Low Countries shaped the foreign churches. Different interpretations of godly zeal, authority, obedience, and religious freedom continued to affect the churches in varying ways until 1585 when England officially interfered in the Dutch Revolt. With the exception of chapter 2, which envisages the entire period under consideration, the chapters chronologically demonstrate the tensions over violence which came into the foreground when clashes occurred in the 1560s. To demonstrate the contrast concerning their impact on the Low Countries between the first stranger communities and the Elizabethan ones, the first chapter analyses the foreign churches' contributions to the Reformation in the Low Countries between 1547 and 1565. I examine migration patterns, the missions of ministers, and the production, spread, and influence of books and psalms. As incidents of Reformed violence increased in the Low Countries, the Elizabethan consistories became more cautious in their dealings with the Low Countries in their struggle for legality and authority.

79 Older studies regularly emphasize the 'refugee' element. This is visible in the titles of such studies: de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*; van Schelven, *De Nederduitsche vluchtelingen-kerk der 16de eeuw in Engeland*; John Southerden Burn, *History of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Foreign Protestant Refugees, settled in England, from the Reign of Henry VIII. to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: with notices of their trade and commerce, copious extracts from the registers, lists of the early settlers, ministers, &c., &c. and An Appendix, containing copies of the charter of Edward V., &c.* (London, 1846).

80 Pettegree, *Emden*, pp. 22–24.

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As new congregations came into existence during the Elizabethan period, chapter 2 assesses the relationships between them and the Continent concerning cooperation and ecclesiology in order to demonstrate the religious and political pluriformity among the Reformed churches. This chapter also considers their cooperation in order to investigate the scope for collaboration between the foreign churches. If the churches were relatively independent, how did they collaborate on issues concerning the Low Countries? This chapter provides a framework for the study of relations among the churches in exile useful for comparison with later chapters. Exceptionally, this section focuses on the entire period under consideration in the book.

Chapter 3 considers how resistance developed after 1559 in the Low Countries and examines the foreign churches' role in and views on the topic. This chapter exposes broad divisions within the churches and between the foreign churches and the Low Countries. Whereas earlier historians have discerned a growing militancy among the foreign churches, the chapter highlights the moderate attitude prevailing in London and the churches' anxiety about resistance as they preferred to alleviate the persecutions by resorting to political actions. During the second half of the 1560s, the resistance manifested itself in iconoclasm. Chapter 4 considers the engagement of the foreign churches in the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566 and its aftermath. This chapter shows the practical implications of the tensions between obedience and resistance within the churches as the iconoclasm formed a highpoint of resistance. Although it provoked significant upheaval in the Low Countries, it also had repercussions for the foreign churches in England. The chapter adds to our understanding of the iconoclasm as it demonstrates how the London Dutch Church's view on iconoclasm differed from that of other foreign churches, and how these differences contributed to the conflicts within the churches which undermined the authority of the consistories and the ministers.

The final two chapters concentrate on the period 1567–1585 but focus on different themes. The fifth chapter addresses the churches' relations with William of Orange and their support for the Dutch Revolt. What contribution did the foreign churches in England make to the revolt in the Low Countries between 1567 and 1585? While scholars have focused on the churches' role in helping finance Orange's campaign in 1572, this chapter looks more broadly at their contributions and their views of Orange. The organisation of funding for Orange among the refugees seems to have been quite modest, and I explore why that might have been the case. I also consider the role of Elizabethan politics in the churches' involvement. The sixth and final chapter is concerned with the contributions of the foreign churches in aid of Reformed churches in the Low Countries. The stranger churches developed two strategies with regard to the

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Reformation in the Low Countries. The first one was to ensure their own short-term survival. The second one was to promote the growth of the Reformed churches in the Low Countries. Yet the churches struggled to strike a balance between these two strategies, while also working out their position within the religious landscape in England. The common element in all the chapters is the comparative perspective and the emphasis on the ways in which the Reformed interpreted events in the Low Countries. Taken together, the chapters testify to the religious and politically pluriform character of membership of the communities. For some, these tensions turned out to be irreconcilable, especially for refugees who accused consistories of resurrecting the very tyranny they were trying to escape.

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CHAPTER 1

The London Stranger Churches in the International Reformation, 1547–1565

Between 1547 and 1553 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, invited Protestant scholars from the Continent to England.[1] He welcomed European theologians to Canterbury and Lambeth Palace and helped to establish the first stranger churches. Cranmer negotiated the settlement of the Strangers' Church in London in 1550. His invitation to scholars was not only significant for the Reformation in England, as we will see, but it also came at a convenient time for many continental Reformers wishing to leave German territories after the Schmalkaldic War and the Augsburg Interim. The Augsburg Interim had attempted to bring compromise to Lutheran and Catholic confessions, satisfying neither, and created a situation in which Calvinistic or Zwinglian Reformed celebrations were not legally allowed.

The Flemish aristocratic humanist and Reformer Jan Utenhove was one of the continental Reformers in exile who had responded to Cranmer's invitation. Having left his native city, Ghent, to study at the university of Leuven, Utenhove had fled to Cologne in 1544. He spent the following years in the German Rhineland and in Strasbourg.[2] In 1548 he travelled to Canterbury.[3] Utenhove participated in the establishment of the first Reformed exile congregations in England, among which the one connected to Canterbury about

1 For more on politics and religion in London during that time period, see Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 490–502, and especially Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London, 2001), pp. 157–97; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven/London, 1996), pp. 380, 394–96, 422, 477–79.

2 For the more extensive story of his whereabouts see Fredrik Pijper, *Jan Utenhove: Zijn Leven en Zijne Werken* (Leiden, 1883), pp. 17–28.

3 Francis W. Cross, *History of the Walloon & Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 15 (Lymington, 1898; reprint 1969), p. 3; Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England. Immigration and Settlement c. 1550–1700*, Afterword by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie trans. by Peregrine and Adriana Stevenson (Cambridge, 1991), p. 26; Pettegree, pp. 23–45. See also George B. Beeman, "The Early History of the Strangers' Church, 1550 to 1561", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 15 (1935), 261–82; Pijper, *Jan Utenhove*, pp. 28–29.

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which we know little.[4] In 1550 he assisted in the settlement of the first Strangers' Church in London, with the help of other Reformers, among whom were the Flemish Martin Micronius and Karel de Koninck, all from Ghent.[5] Utenhove and Micronius also maintained close contacts with the English Reformer John Hooper in the 1540s. Micronius was a friend of Hooper, whom he and Utenhove had met in Zurich.[6] The Reformer Heinrich Bullinger held an interest in the figure of Hooper. He communicated with Utenhove and Micronius through letters and frequently asked them for news about Hooper.[7] Micronius' expectations of Hooper's influence on the English Reformation were high since he told Bullinger that Hooper would become "the future Zwingli of England".[8]

The Italian Reformer Coelius Secundus Curio wrote a letter to Utenhove in September 1549 to congratulate him for his "young and growing church".[9] In this same letter Curio and the Reformed community in Basel, where he was residing, expressed their curiosity for more news about "English affairs" (by which they meant the development of the Reformation in England) and especially about Hooper.[10] They were not the only ones keen to hear more about developments in England, as it appears from Utenhove's letters. Two Bruges humanist Catholics, friends of Utenhove, writing from Freiburg and hoping to bridge the breach between Catholicism and Protestantism, also took an interest in 1546.[11] During Mary's reign, a part of the foreign exile community again chose to go into exile elsewhere, along with many English Protestants.[12]

This chapter evaluates the influence of the exile churches in England on the Reformation elsewhere in Europe, and in particular in the Low Countries, between 1547 and 1565. It illustrates differences between the international outlook and political situation of the stranger churches during the reign of

4 Cross, *The Walloon & Huguenot Church*, pp. 3–4; Sir Robert A. McCall, "The Huguenots in Kent", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 13 (1924–29), 18–36 (pp. 22–25); Beate Magen, *Die Wallonengemeinde in Canterbury von ihrer Gründung bis zum Jahre 1653* (Bern/Frankfurt, 1973), pp. 35–36. Magen does not want to describe the congregation in Canterbury as a church, though previous scholars have; Pijper, *Jan Utenhove*, pp. 29–58.

5 Cross, *The Walloon & Huguenot Church*, p. 6; Beeman, "The Early History of the Strangers' Church", pp. 264–65.

6 Pettegree, pp. 26, 44.

7 Archivum, 2.1, Letter 8, pp. 23–25.

8 See Charles H. Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 95–99; Pettegree, pp. 23–45.

9 Archivum, 2.1, Letter 9, p. 26.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., pp. 11–14.

12 Christina Hallowell Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 45.

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Edward VI as opposed to Elizabethan times. Most narratives attribute a large responsibility to the Strangers' Church for the development of the Reformation in the Low Countries. Decavele was of the opinion that the chief points of Dutch Reformed activity lay in its refugee churches in the 1540s and 1550s; first in England and, after Mary's accession to the throne, in Emden, Wesel and Frankfurt. He believed that the refugee communities were active operational bases for the spread of Reformed thought in the Low Countries.[13] Nonetheless, refugees from the Low Countries fled to both England and the Holy Roman Empire before the settlement of congregations. In the Lower-Rhine area, and at Wesel in particular, Low Countries' Reformed refugees settled from 1544 onwards.[14] In a larger context, the refugee communities in England and the German cities fitted into a mobile group of Reformers. Many of these Reformers met in exile in cities where many refugees gathered, a phenomenon often called the "Reformation of the refugees".[15] A similarly international group of Catholic refugees later strove to promote the reform of the Catholic Church in the Low Countries.[16]

There is no doubt, as we will see, that the exile congregations in the Holy Roman Empire and in England were critical for the survival of the Reformed faith in the 1550s, and in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth. After her accession, refugees sent propaganda in favour of the Reformed movement from England to the Low Countries.[17] I shall argue that during the second period of their existence, however, the stranger churches became more cautious and self-preserving. Collinson wrote that the superintendence of the Bishop of London over the stranger churches restricted "their full participation in the developing organisation of their home churches" in the 1560s, despite acknowledging that the strangers enjoyed a large degree of local autonomy under Grindal.[18] When discussing the influence of the exile churches on the Low Countries, one should distinguish between the two periods. The focus of the Reformed movement lay in the Low Countries from the 1560s onwards, and in Decavele's

13 Johan Decavele, *De Dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen* (*1520–1565*), 2 vols, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België Jaargang 37, 76 (Brussels, 1975), I, pp. 324–25.

14 Achim Dünnwald, *Konfessionsstreit und Verfassungskonflikt: Die Aufnahme der nierderländischen Flüchtelinge im Herzogtum Kleve 1566–1585* (Bielefeld, 1998), p. 97.

15 See Heiko A. Oberman, "*Europa afflicta*: The Reformation of the Refugees", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 83 (1992), 91–111; Heiko A. Oberman, *John Calvin and the Reformation of the Refugees*, Introduction by Peter A. Dykema (Geneva, 2009).

16 Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 8.

17 Decavele, *De Dageraad*, I, p. 396.

18 Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), p. 114.

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opinion in the Westkwartier of Flanders. He stated that the return of refugees from England in the period after the resettlement as well as the Calvinist thought and migration from northern France heavily affected the movement in this area.[19] Marnef, on the other hand, reckoned that it was Antwerp which filled this role, with some help from the exile centres.[20]

The mere existence of these asylums abroad provided support for individual migrants and nobles who played a prominent role in the events in the Low Countries during the 1560s and 1570s, but the migrant churches' in England's influence on Reformers in the Low Countries diminished. It was not so much the English authorities that restrained the stranger churches, as Collinson claimed, as their own internal problems. I do not believe that their subordination to the Bishop of London tells the full story of their limited influence. This chapter outlines the impact on the Low Countries of the Strangers' Church ecclesiastical models and its members' writings. This allows us to both understand the importance of this formative stage for the later stranger churches and to consider the differing ways in which the migrant communities under Edward VI and the Elizabethan foreign churches influenced events in the Low Countries.

1 From the Community under Edward VI to the Elizabethan Resettlement

The first attempts to form exile churches took place in Canterbury and London through the gathering of Continental scholars through Cranmer from 1547 onwards. In 1549 Hugh Latimer had also expressed his desire to bring "valuable persons" together in the kingdom in a sermon that he preached before Edward VI.[21] Cranmer worked to assemble scholars in the hope of uniting Protestant movements. Calvin's lack of enthusiasm may, however, have

19 Decavele, *De Dageraad*, I, p. 434.

20 Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie: Ondergronds Protestantisme in een handelsmetropool, 1550–1577* (Amsterdam/Antwerp, 1996), p. 105.

21 McCall, "The Huguenots in Kent", p. 23; *Sermons by Hugh Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester, Martyr, 1555*, ed. George Elwes Corrie, The Parker Society (Cambridge, 1844), p. 141 (third sermon preached before Edward VI). In this passage Latimer mentioned à Lasco: "Johannes Alasco was here, a nobleman in his country, and is gone his way again: if it be for lack of entertainment, the more pity. I would wish such men as he to be in the realm; for the realm should prosper in receiving of them [...] and it is for the king's honour to receive them and keep them. I hear say Master Melanchton, that great clerk, should come hither. [...]".

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frustrated Cranmer's plans.[22] Although some of the most influential Calvinists declined, the invitation did attract various other Continental Reformers as well as religious refugees. The Polish baron and zealous Reformer John à Lasco, who would become the superintendent of the Strangers' Church, the Flemish Reformers and later consistory members Jan Utenhove, Martin Micronius, but also the Walloon theologian Pierre Alexandre came to stay in London.[23] Other Reformers connected to the Strangers' Churches in Canterbury and London were Peter Martyr Vermigli, Bernardino Ochino from Siena, the Frenchmen and consistory members of the London French Church François Perucel de la Rivière, Richard Vauville, and Valerand Poullain, who was formerly a minister at Strasbourg where he had met Utenhove.[24]

Among the more distinguished scholars who also met in England, where they resided after Cranmer had invited them, were the eminent Strasbourg-based theologians Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, and the Spanish Reformer Franciscus Dryander.[25] According to tradition, the first congregation of foreign Reformers gathered for ecclesiastical services in Canterbury, though hard evidence for this development is sparse.[26] We do know that Reformers such as Utenhove and Fagius sporadically resided in Canterbury in 1548 and 1549.[27] It is also uncertain whether Utenhove established the congregation shortly after his arrival that year or whether this congregation already existed.[28] It is not clear when it was established or whether we can really call the congregation of these foreigners the first strangers' church; essentially, it seems to have been a gathering of scholars potentially residing in Canterbury at the invitation of Cranmer.[29] The community's minister was probably François Perucel

22 Pettegree, pp. 16–17.

23 According to de Schickler, Pierre Alexandre had been a preacher at the court of Mary of Hungary, the sister of Charles v. After that he became professor of theology at Heidelberg. Fernand de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1892), p. 8.

24 Ibid., p. 26.

25 Archivum, 2, Letter 2, p. 4, fn. 2.

26 Cross presumed that the intelligentsia around Cranmer founded the first Reformed Church at Canterbury as he could not find any evidence of a company of migrants in Canterbury's Burghmote books for the time of Edward VI's reign. Cross, *The Walloon & Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, p. 8; more evidence and a clearer narrative can be found in Pijper, *Jan Utenhove*, pp. 29–56.

27 See Magen, *Die Wallonengemeinde*, pp. 34–35.

28 Ibid.

29 This depends on one's definition of a church. Beate Magen does not consider this congregation the first stranger church but rather a sort of early form of a stranger church since it did not seem to have had a church discipline. However, the congregation had a minister and that could have been enough to constitute a church. Magen, *Die Wallonengemeinde*, p. 35.

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de la Rivière.[30] He would also become a member of the French Church in the reign of Elizabeth. The church's working language was French, although this did not mean that the members originated in France.[31] This church bore no relation to the later Walloon Church in Canterbury. The later congregation settled in Canterbury in 1574 and 1575. A first stream of French and Walloon migrants came from Winchelsea and Rye to Canterbury in 1574, and in 1575 a larger group came from Sandwich and was Walloon in origin.[32] They initially used the St Alphege church for worship before moving to the cathedral's western crypt in 1576.[33]

There is also some evidence to suggest the formation of foreign congregations in London during the second half of the 1540s, which congregations the Canterbury group probably joined in 1549.[34] The few references in sources often only vaguely describe foreign congregations. The Strasbourg Reformer Martin Bucer expressed one of the early reactions to the settlement of foreign churches in England in 1549: "I congratulate you on assembling a community [...] Would that we might soon hear that the foundations of the kingdom of Christ were safely and firmly laid in your place. May the Lord also grant a period of external peace for this work."[35] In this statement he put forward the idea of establishing a safe outpost for Reformers from the Continent. Still, it is not clear whether he was talking about a church set up in Canterbury or one in London. A Dutch-speaking congregation in London was searching for a minister as early as 1548.[36] In January 1548 the Italian scholar Bernardino Ochino had

30 de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge*, I, p. 9.

31 Ibid.

32 Cross, *The Walloon & Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, pp. 3, 18–19, refers to *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation: Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, And Queen Mary*, ed. Hastings Robinson, The Parker Society (Cambridge, 1842), I, p. 17; Magen, *Die Wallonengemeinde*, pp. 43–45.

33 Anne M. Oakley, "The Canterbury Walloon Congregation from Elizabeth I to Laud", in *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550–1800. Contributions to the Historical Conference of the Huguenot Society of London, 24–25 September 1985*, ed. Irene Scouloudi (Basingstoke, 1987), pp. 57–71 (pp. 59–60).

34 It would be possible that both developments, in Canterbury and London, have been confused with each other throughout historiography. References to foreign congregations in primary sources are usually vague and open to interpretation, while secondary sources mentioning the Canterbury congregation, like Cross, refer back to Strype's *Annals*, thus they have no strong source basis. The best explanation to the connection between the congregation in Canterbury and the development of foreign churches in London before 1550 can be found in Pijper, *Jan Utenhove*, pp. 29–56, who had a larger source basis than Cross.

35 Archivum, 2, Letter 6, pp. 17–19.

36 Pettegree, p. 24.

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also first brought together an Italian congregation in London and at latest in 1549 foreign scholars were making similar attempts to form a French-speaking church in London.[37]

The first foreign congregation to obtain official recognition in London through a royal charter in 1550 was à Lasco's Strangers' Church, while a Walloon Church came into existence in Glastonbury the same year. The successful acquisition of the charter from Edward VI which allowed the strangers to form churches in London was in part due to the efforts of John à Lasco.[38] This Polish baron was a prominent Reformer who, through his networks and active negotiation, influenced the development of Protestant thought and practice in several places throughout Europe.[39] He furthermore became the superintendent of the Strangers' Church, a position which earned him a salary from the English Government of one hundred pounds a year.[40] He left England after Mary's accession to the throne and travelled through Europe with the exiles of the Strangers' Church hoping to find a new home for the Reformed exile congregation. His attempts to establish the Reformed religion in Denmark and Poland, however, failed.

Before his arrival in England à Lasco held the function of superintendent of Reformed communities in East Frisia but had to leave for political reasons after the Augsburg Interim, and perhaps à Lasco had been searching for a refuge for his Frisian flock in England.[41] À Lasco was a driving force behind the first Strangers' Church, but his attention was not focused on the promotion of the Reformed faith in Flanders. Instead, he devoted himself to the spread of Reformed thought in general, and especially in Poland, and to the creation of stable congregations in London and East Frisia.

John à Lasco befriended John Hooper. The latter had studied in Zurich around 1548 where he had lived in the house of the Flemish Martin Micronius,

37 MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, p. 79; see also M. Anne Overell, *Italian Reform and English Reformations, c. 1535–c. 1585* (Aldershot, 2008), chapter 2.

38 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 14, pp. 4–7.

39 Shortly after his return to the Continent in 1553 he helped settling the exile congregation in Frankfurt. He was also a close friend of Erasmus, whose library he purchased before turning Protestant. Similarly, he was acquainted with and read Melanchton. See Michael S. Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church. John a Lasco and the Forma ac ratio* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 1–3.

40 Pettegree, p. 28.

41 The Interim was established in Germany and threatened him as he did not want to concede in his religious thought. More about these political problems which had arisen in Frisia, see Susan Minet, "Hommage à l'Eglise de Londres, 1550–1950: A Résumé of the Story of London's First Huguenot Church", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 18 (1949), 232–42 (p. 233); see also Pettegree, p. 42.

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who later became a minister of the London Dutch Church. Both Hooper and Micronius were also personal friends of Jan Utenhove.[42] Micronius showed his intimate friendship and respect for Hooper in his letters.[43] Hooper's influence on the Court and politics played a role in the acquisition of the charter. This charter, ratified in 1550, appointed à Lasco as the superintendent and four ministers namely Wouter Deleene, Martin Micronius, François Perucel de la Rivière, and Richard Vauville.[44] Wouter Deleene had held a position as "biblioscopus", presumably reader or censor, in Henry VIII's library around 1539, at which time he dedicated a translation of the New Testament to Henry.[45]

The charter also provided a meeting space for these congregations; the church of Austin Friars, one of the larger churches in London at that time. Yet before they could move in, the church had to be repaired at royal expense while the Lord Treasurer oversaw the works. According to Micronius himself, these repairs progressed very slowly as the Lord Treasurer Winchester did not look favourably upon the strangers, telling them that they should embrace the English way of worship.[46] The settlement of the Strangers' Church formed part of English politics and presumably represented a significant victory for those Protestants around Edward VI seeking church reform along the lines of Zurich.[47] The communities had to find another church for their services and consequently met in the Chapel of St Anthony in Threadneedle street for the first two years. The French Church would also use this chapel as their place of worship in the Elizabethan period. Communities of migrants soon gathered around the Strangers' Church. The congregations did not only consist of these 'high-powered scholars' but also of foreign journeymen, craftsmen, or people of slender means also took an interest in them.[48]

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42 On Micronius see Jan Hendrik Gerretsen, *Micronius, zijn leven, zijn geschriften, zijn geestesrichting* (Nijmegen, 1895); Decavele, *De Dageraad*, I, pp. 327–28.

43 See Charles H. Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 95–99; Pettegree, pp. 23–45.

44 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 14, pp. 4–7.

45 Galterum Deloenus, *Novum Testamentum Latinum, ad Antiquissima Graecorum exemplaria, qua, diligentissime castigatum: inq*[*ue*] *latinam phrasim transfusum, quicquid erat idiotismi vel Graeci vel Hebraei …* (London, 1540). Deleene described himself as "biblioscopus" of Henry VIII's library, but there is no unanimity about the meaning of the term. The Lambeth Library still possesses a copy of the book, which originally formed part of Henry VIII's library. More about the book and Deleene in J. Trapman, "Delenus en de Bijbel", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 56:1 (1975), 95–113; Pettegree, pp. 50–52. About Deleene's function in Henry's library see James P. Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and his Wives*, preface by David Starkey (London, 2004), p. 17.

46 Beeman, "The Early History of the Strangers' Church", p. 269.

47 See Pettegree, pp. 29–49.

48 Cottret, *The Huguenots in England*, p. 27.

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Several scholars have pondered over whether allowing this larger group of migrants to celebrate the Reformed religion according to their own rites and customs was a mere concession which the English government had granted to minority groups or whether they set up the Strangers' Church to set an example for the rest of England. In this case, the Strangers' Church would thus have served as model congregations to which image the English church could slowly adapt. The scholar Frederick Norwood believed that their existence 'was intended to influence the direction of the English Reformation'.[49] Cottret pointed out that it was thanks to the arrival of these Reformers that the English Church moved further away from Rome in favour of Protestantism.[50]

Yet Norwood, like Cottret, did not explain who would be behind such a scheme. Were the foreigners whom Cranmer had invited behind it, and how large was the involvement of Calvinist Court members? While Norwood believed that Edward VI, Cranmer, and à Lasco carefully planned the scheme, Cottret remained much vaguer on the point.[51] The latter also presumed that it was à Lasco who zealously worked to establish the foreign churches. The Reformer did interfere in religious debate in England, for instance on the issue of vestments, and held aggressive, polemical theological opinions which also made it harder for the refugees to settle again on the Continent after their Marian exile.[52] Cottret believed that the efforts put into the churches' ecclesiastical constitution would be inexplicable unless à Lasco had intended this church to serve as a model for the whole of England.[53] For this interpretation both referred to à Lasco's dedicatory epistle for King Sigismund of Poland in which he talked about events of the settlement under Edward VI.[54]

Drawing on the same epistle, Elsie Johnston pointed out that Edward VI and his Council had welcomed the scheme which à Lasco envisaged and that they had attempted to use this occasion in a larger plan for a drastic reform of the English Church.[55] These seem reasonable interpretations, yet this fragment is not free of political intentions from the side of à Lasco, who wanted to see his

49 Frederick A. Norwood, "The Strangers' 'Model Churches' in Sixteenth-Century England", in *Reformation Studies: Essays in Honor of Roland H. Bainton*, ed. Franklin H. Littell (Richmond, 1962), pp. 181–96 (pp. 181–86); see also de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge*, I, pp. 31–32.

50 Cottret, *The Huguenots in England*, p. 26.

51 Norwood, "The Strangers", pp. 183–85.

52 See Ole Peter Grell, "Exile and Tolerance", in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, eds. Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 164–81.

53 Cottret, *The Huguenots in England*, pp. 37–38.

54 Ibid.; Norwood, 'The Strangers', p. 184; see also de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge*, I, pp. 31–32. See also footnote 56 for the books in which the epistle is to be found.

55 Actes du Consistoire I, p. xiii.

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beloved home country Poland turning to the Reformation.[56] À Lasco was using the idea that the settlement from Edward VI formed part of a larger scheme which Edward and his advisors had concocted in an attempt to convince the Polish king. Since à Lasco wrote this epistle after Edward's death, I would suggest that we approach this fragment critically. As expected, one can also find little trace of such a scheme in the charter, but it does show the importance of the propagation of Edward VI as the defender of the true religion and the idea that Christian kings should pursue the purified and true religion in their reign. The charter states that a Christian king should not only take the utmost care when ruling his kingdom but also dedicate himself to religion and to those exiles who fled for their religious beliefs.[57] Yet it does also stipulate that the strangers could profess and celebrate their religion according to their own rites and the customs of their fatherland among their own people, and in their own language, even though these rites and ceremonies differed from those used in the English Church.[58] This would make their services less accessible to Englishmen.

During the Elizabethan resettlement of the stranger churches, the notion that they would form a model could also have been the motive of some powerful figures who supported such reforms. Even if this were not the case, these Reformed churches served as exemplars for the Puritan movement.[59] One

56 They seem reasonable interpretations judging from the large quotations used by both Cottret and Elsie Johnston in their studies. Johnston refers to the *Dedicatory Epistle to King Sigismund of Poland* in *De ordinatione ecclesiarum peregrinarum in Anglia*. (Frankfort, 1555) as being the source for these quotes, whereas Cottret references de Schickler, who, in turn referred to the *Dedicatory Epistle* as well. Yet interestingly, this book is nowhere to be found. It is not even mentioned by the Universal Short Title Catalogue and any references to the book are derived from Kuyper's *Joannis a Lasco. Opera*. A dedicatory epistle to the king of Poland can, however, be found in à Lasco's *Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici ministerij, in peregrinorum, potissimum verò Germanorum Ecclesia instituta Londini in Anglia, per pientissimum principem Angliae etc. Regem Eduardum, eius nominis sextum: anno post Christum natum 1550. Addito ad calcem libelli privilegio suae Maiestatis* (Emden, 1554). Could a possible confusion by de Schickler have caused the difficulties with this reference? It seems to be the case. The dedicatory epistle in the *Forma ac ratio* confirms both Cottret and Johnston's interpretations, while Norwood also referred to this work for the epistle and argued that Edward VI wanted to purify the Church in England slowly. Here à Lasco also praised Thomas Cranmer. See Abraham Kuyper's *Joannis a Lasco. Opera. Tam edita quam inedita, recensuit vitam auctoris enarravit*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1866), pp. 10–11.

57 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 14, pp. 4–7.

58 Ibid.

59 Introduction to the Actes du Consistoire I, pp. xiv–xvi; Patrick Collinson, "Calvinism with an Anglican Face: The Stranger Churches of Early Elizabethan London and their Superintendent", in his *Godly People, Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), pp. 213–44; Andrew Spicer considers the influence of ordinance of the

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scholar, Christina Garrett, even believes that the Strangers' Church formed the inspiration and ecclesiastical working model for English Reformers who went into (voluntary) exile under Mary.[60] The Strangers' Church only served one side of the English political and religious landscape, however. MacCulloch has also argued that Cranmer had more conciliatory motives, that is bringing together differing religious denomination in a bid to demonstrate the possibility that they might live in peace through mutual 'tolerance'. Despite Cranmer's views on tolerance, à Lasco meddled in the vestments dispute on the side of Hooper, and against Cranmer, arguing against vestments for the clergy in order to purify the church.[61]

If the exemplary function of the churches' presence for the English Reformation was one potential reason for the government to grant the charter, another one was the attraction of skilled craftsmen or merchants. Edward VI's journal itself, however, reveals a further motive for the settlement of the Strangers' Church; for the avoidance of sects, especially Anabaptists.[62] Heresies formed a problem in London during the reign of Edward VI in the ranks of the poor, the servants, and the apprentices. Heretics in London were in large part foreigners, who proliferated during the reign of Edward VI. Some were so unruly as to interrupt sermons.[63] A Reformed Strangers' Church would help to regulate and perhaps eradicate the spread of heretical thought. Foreign heretics preferred the anonymity of London since the city had for centuries been attracting foreign skilled workers.

England and especially London had long been a popular destination for Flemish craftsmen As the Radical Reformation gained support in the Low Countries, it was only natural that some Anabaptists and Mennonites would therefore find their way to London. The Reformed movement was a mainstream Protestant movement which enjoyed greater intellectual credit than other sectarian tendencies. In 1558 the Reformer Godfried van Winghen expressed his joy when the Anabaptists could not find any weighty fault in his edition of

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French Church on the Reformation in France in "Nicholas des Gallars's Forme de police ecclésiastique de Londres and the French Reformed Church", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 29:4 (2011), 532–63.

60 Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, pp. 45, 49.

61 Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Archbishop Cranmer: Concord and Tolerance", in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, eds. Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 199–215 (pp. 213–14).

62 *Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, ed. Wilbur Kitchener Jordan (New York, 1966), p. 37, cited in Pettegree, p. 38; Unity in Multiformity, p. 4.

63 Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 492–504; *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, ed. Henry Charles Beeching (London, 1906), p. 150, cited in Pettegree, pp. 38–39.

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the New Testament and perceived that the "opinion of learned men" favoured the Reformed movement.[64] Some ministers of the Reformed churches worried about the souls of people who adhered to other religious movements. They described other religious designations as sects, especially the Mennonites and Anabaptists, whom Catholics and mainstream Protestants alike persecuted. The internationally renowned Reformer Peter Martyr stated that in "Low Germany" "sects and heresy" were booming.[65] Other religious beliefs he described as "fantasies".[66] The Reformed churches were anxious not to be associated with the Anabaptists. Whereas the group of Reformers maintained a large, international base of support from theologians, the Anabaptists did not. Its association with the fiasco of the Münster Rebellion tainted Anabaptism.

The churches' religious ideology was not straightforwardly Calvinist, as Zwinglian thought also influenced it. Yet Bullinger himself warned Utenhove in 1557 not to mix up "several religions", or rather several branches of Protestant thought.[67] As we have noted, the prominent theologians attached to the Strangers' Church had studied in Zurich, or maintained close contacts with Swiss Reformers. Connections to Strasbourg were most ubiquitous, as Reformers such as Bucer, Ochino, and Utenhove had all resided there. More importantly, Hooper, Micronius, Bullinger, Bucer, Martyr, Utenhove, and à Lasco all formed part of the same network of letters, the importance of which for the spread of Protestant thought should not be underestimated. The Swiss brought their own men, Hooper and à Lasco, into the power play of London politics in defence of Reformed thought during the reign of Edward VI.[68] Theologians such as Zwingli and Bucer influenced the English evangelical movement under Henry VIII and Edward VI. Calvin's initial indifference to Cranmer's project made room for Reformers from the Zwinglian branch to spread their influence. Only when Nicholas des Gallars became minister of the French Church, from 1560 to 1563, did the Genevan influence become directly apparent.[69] This was

64 Archivum, 2, Letter 25, pp. 81–86.

65 Low Germany is a term used to describe the Low Countries. See Alastair Duke, "The Elusive Netherlands: The Question of National Identity in the Early Modern Low Countries on the Eve of the Revolt", in *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, eds. Alastair Duke, Judith Pollmann, and Andrew Spicer (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 9–56 for more information on nomenclature.

66 Archivum, 2, Letter 27, pp. 88–90.

67 Archivum, 2, Letter 22, p. 73; on the strong humanist influence on Utenhove see Fredrik Pijper, *Jan Utenhove: Zijn Leven en Zijne Werken* (Leiden, 1883) p. 18.

68 Pettegree, pp. 19–22, 24.

69 Cottret, *The Huguenots in England*, p. 50.

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a strategical move from Geneva that we should not consider meaningless since des Gallars was a nobleman and prominent Calvinist.[70]

The accession of Mary eventually drove a few hundred refugees, who had formerly been able to celebrate their beliefs with considerable freedom, back to the Continent. In September 1553 à Lasco and Utenhove departed from London with the congregation. They embarked on vessels in Gravesend and sailed for Denmark. As they sailed down the Thames, members of the congregation who stayed behind sang psalms.[71] Cottret describes these refugees from the time of Edward VI as the "would-be heralds of a new reforming age which was slow to dawn", though their influence on the Low Countries came largely from Emden.[72] After their dispersal, the exiles joined refugee congregations in Emden, Wesel and Frankfurt. Some of them went back to the Low Countries. During the 1550s, the Westkwartier, Antwerp, and some towns in Hainaut and Artois became the three main bases for the spread of Reformed thought in the Low Countries in the 1550s. Marnef states that Antwerp fulfilled a central role in the spread of Reformed Protestantism in the Low Countries, especially in the southern half of the Netherlands. Refugees from these areas and from France fled to Antwerp because they could conceal themselves in the anonymity of the large city as well as finding a livelihood. From there they could direct events in their homelands.[73]

As I have demonstrated, the Strangers' Church was significant for the Reformation in England, but could also count on international support. The Church formed a model for other congregations and belonged to an international network of theologians as well as many English church leaders, who had invited them in the first place. This was not the case when immigrants re-established these churches after the accessions of Elizabeth. In December 1559, a year after the accession of Elizabeth and when her religious preferences had become clearer, Utenhove and Wouter and Peter Deleene travelled back to London with the hope of re-establishing the churches.[74] Although

70 Spicer thought it likely that Calvin sent des Gallars to London in the hope that he would establish contacts with "patrons of English Calvinism" and thus to guide the development and establishment of the church in Elizabethan England in favour of European Calvinism. Spicer, "Nicholas des Gallars", p. 534. For more extensive research on England, des Gallars, and Calvin, see Jeannine Olson, "Nicolas Des Gallars and the Genevan Connection of the Stranger Churches", in *From Strangers to Citizens: Integration of Immigrant Communities in Great Britain, Ireland and the Colonies, 1550–1750*, eds. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton, 2001), 38–47.

71 Cross, *The Walloon & Huguenot Church*, p. 10.

72 Cottret, *The Huguenots in England*, p. 27.

73 Marnef, *Antwerpen*, p. 105.

74 Beeman, "The Early History of the Strangers' Church", p. 278.

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most narratives of the re-establishment emphasise this event, attempts took place before their return, through representatives in London of the Reformed churches at Emden.[75] Utenhove returned from Poland with the charter, where he had attempted to push through ecclesiastical reform together with à Lasco. In England they still enjoyed support, especially from those Englishmen who had returned from exile on the Continent under Mary. One such exile was Edmund Grindal, now consecrated Bishop of London. He would prove not just to be their superintendent but also a friendly ally of the strangers.[76] This time à Lasco did not accompany them but remained in Poland until his death in January 1560. The negotiations for the re-establishment started in December 1559 with a petition to the Privy Council from Utenhove, but the Council did not grant permission until February 1560.[77]

The stranger churches now consisted of a mixture of the migrants: alongside recent immigrants were those who had resided in London under Mary as well as returning migrants. The old group consisted of migrants who had either remained in London secretly after the first settlement, who had reverted back to Catholicism, or who had settled in England during Mary's reign.[78] A group of Reformers remained in London for a while or throughout the entire reign of Mary. Peter Deleene was still in London in 1554 to take care of the remaining flock in secret. One of the main reasons for him to remain in England temporarily was, according to Deleene himself, a scarcity of spiritual "labourers" in London.[79] The renewed exile of a part of the congregation thus did not mean that the church left the rest of the flock bereft; a problem which had been a common reason against flight.[80] The consistorial records of the French Church reveal that many old members who wanted to rejoin the church after 1559 first had to repent for having lapsed into Catholicism under Mary.[81] As

75 Pettegree, pp. 133–81.

76 This becomes clear from the records of the French Church, and Johnston, its editor, briefly described this relationship in the introduction to the Actes du consistoire 1, pp. xiv–xvi. Collinson developed the argument in his "Calvinism with an Anglican Face", pp. 71–102.

77 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547–1580*, ed. Robert Lemon (London, 1856), Elizabeth, xi, 24, as quoted in Cottret, *The Huguenots in England*, pp. 46–47.

78 It is difficult to estimate the size of these groups. The Dutch Church had about 227 adult members in 1562, according to their own estimates, the French Church about 342 in 1564. Yet these official estimates might be lower than they actually were. Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 210; Actes du Consistoire 1, p. 59.

79 Archivum, 2, Letter 15, pp. 40–42.

80 Jonathan Wright, "Marian Exiles and the Legitimacy of Flight from Persecution", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52:2 (2001), 220–43.

81 Actes du Consistoire 1, p. xvi.

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well as the new migrants, there were also some prominent Englishmen who regularly joined the Lord's Supper of the French Church and other events. One such was a merchant named Eton, who helped to organize the elections of the first elders.[82]

The composition of the consistories also changed. Micronius and Utenhove became elders of the Dutch Church, and Peter Deleene, the son of the former minister Wouter Deleene, became its minister together with Adriaan van Haemstede. The latter was initially preaching in London, before the arrival of Deleene. Van Haemstede only served for about one year.[83] Through his liberal ideas and attitudes towards Anabaptists, and perhaps his controversial provocation of public preaching in Antwerp, he shocked and divided the church. He very quickly clashed with some of the other consistory members, especially with Peter Deleene and Micronius. Throughout 1560 these consistory members started various procedures against him. Van Haemstede remained stubborn and he had supporters within the church. Yet in the same year, the Dutch Church persuaded Grindal to proceed with his excommunication. Van Haemstede was no longer welcome in the church, nor in London, and on his return to the Low Countries too, he encountered much animosity. He and the Dutch consistory unsuccessfully attempted to reach an accommodation once more when he suddenly turned up at Austin Friars in 1562.[84] In his writings van Haemstede depicted himself as a true martyr, hated, and without hope of finding a home.[85] Peter Deleene took over the role of minister from van Haemstede but succumbed to the plague in 1563. Godfried van Winghen, who had been a tutor to Utenhove's sons in the 1550s, then took over the ministry.[86]

Dutch consistory members who took up their function again after their return found themselves at odds with many of the new refugees over their approach towards the Low Countries. The returning Reformers had wanted to build a church to model along the lines of Reformed churches elsewhere in Europe and as an outpost to Zurich and Strasbourg.[87] Many of the new

82 Regularly noticeable in the Actes du Consistoire 1.

83 Jean-François Gilmont, "La Genèse du martyrologe d'Adrien van Haemstede (1559)", *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 63 (1968), 379–414; Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 23, cited in Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519–1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London, 1979), p. 135.

84 Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 335–38.

85 Archivum, 2, Letter 47, pp. 144–46.

86 Pettegree, p. 286.

87 Torrance Kirby, "Peter Martyr Vermigli and the Elizabethan Church", in *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain*, ed. Polly Ha and Patrick Collinson, Proceedings of the British Academy, 164 (Oxford, 2010), pp. 83–106 (p. 106). Kirby's investigations suggest that the influence of Swiss Reformers and of the theologian Peter Martyr Vermigli on the

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refugees on the other hand were fleeing persecution and unrest in the Low Countries and some of these wished to use the migrant churches as instruments to encourage the spread of their Reformed ideas in the Low Countries. The new refugees hoped to return to a Netherlands where Reformed churches would be legalized one day.

Pierre Alexandre initially preached successfully among the French-speaking immigrants. During Edward VI's reign Cranmer had drawn him to Canterbury where he became a prebendary. During Mary's reign, he moved to Strasbourg, where he ministered to the French congregation, and returned to England in May 1560 at which point he took up this prebendary again.[88] Yet he was not the only French-speaking preacher that tried to form a congregation in London around that time; the pastor Ebrard Erail also brought together a group of Protestants. Erail had come from the French-speaking Reformed Church at Antwerp.[89] The groups integrated and formed a single church, but Nicholas des Gallars took up the role of minister for the French Church after the re-establishment. Calvin sent him at the request from the French Church for a minister.[90] The Church elected him as their minister in April 1560.[91] As Alexandre had already established himself as a preacher in London before des Gallars' arrival in June, the consistory of the French Church tried to accommodate him as an assistant minister. This caused some tensions within the congregation, as Alexandre did not hold back from challenging his competitor, des Gallars. Alexandre strongly felt that he was the rightful minister; after all, he had been one of the founding members of the Strangers' Church for which he had tried to secure a building. It is perhaps due to the diplomatic and successful interventions of Grindal that no larger conflicts divided the French Church. Grindal and des Gallars held each other in mutual respect, while Grindal could not easily condemn Alexandre, who had been one of his hosts during his exile in Strasbourg.[92] They erected the churches as outposts of continental

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Elizabethan religious establishment should not be overlooked. See also Emidio Campi, "John Calvin and Peter Martyr Vermigli. A reassessment of their relationship", in *Calvin und Calvinismus – Europäische Perspektiven*, eds. Irene Dingel and Herman J. Selderhuis (Mainz, 2011), pp. 85–102.

88 Cottret, *The Huguenots in England*, p. 26; Actes du Consistoire I, p. 15; John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541–1857. III Canterbury, Rochester and Winchester Dioceses*, compiled by Joyce M. Horn (London, 1974) pp. 30–31.

89 Actes du Consistoire I, p. xv.

90 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS Dupuy 102, fols 137 ff., as quoted in de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge*, III, pp. 44–47, also cited by Cottret, *The Huguenots in England*, p. 47.

91 Actes du Consistoire I, p. xv.

92 de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge*, I, pp. 96, 132, cited in Collinson, "Calvinism with an Anglican Face", pp. 224–25.

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Protestantism rather than as bastions for the establishment of the Reformed faith in France and the Low Countries.

The correspondence of Jan Utenhove, many of whose letters survive in the Dutch Church's archival records, shows that in the period under consideration the places from which he received letters most regularly were Frankfurt and Zurich. The largest number of his in-coming letters were from Heinrich Bullinger and Peter Martyr Vermigli.[93] The churches held regular correspondence with the continental Reformers through its prominent consistory members. The stranger churches also served as a midpoint for letters between the Continent and London. They regularly forwarded letters to the English Court or governmental authorities within the Church of England. In 1565, for instance, Jean Cousin, who was at that point the minister of the French Church, reported going to the Court to hand over a testament which the theologian Beza had sent over addressed to the Queen, and a few other letters for onward transmission to Robert Dudley, William Cecil, and several other Englishmen.[94] It was also through these churches that continental Reformers kept an eye on the Reformation in Scotland and that civil authorities lobbied for the migration of Flemish weavers from England to Scotland.[95]

2 The Impact of the Exile's Books and Psalms on the Low Countries

Antwerp acted as crossroads for Reformed thought in the first half of the sixteenth century. Its printing houses received international recognition and the book trade flourished. As early as 1520 Albrecht Dürer noted in his journal that he found Lutheran tracts and other published works on sale in Antwerp.[96] While England imported large quantities of books either printed in the Low Countries or through its market, London also increasingly attracted its printers. The London market was not only a fruitful place to sell printed goods, it also provided a place of refuge for persecuted printers. The Ghent citizen and printer Gillis van der Erven, with whom the stranger churches held close

93 See the Archivum.

94 Actes du Consistoire 1, p. 115.

95 Among others Archivum, 2, pp. 113–15, 771–72, 794–96 (see footnotes), 841–42. For more information on this topic see my blog post from 2015 "The Stranger Churches and their Link with Scotland", on *Scotland and the Flemish People*, St Andrews Institute of Scottish Historical Research, https://flemish.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/2015/04/10/the-stranger-churches-and-their-link-with-scotland/ (last accessed 05/04/2020).

96 Albrecht Dürer, *Albrecht Dürer in de Nederlanden*, ed. Ferdinand Verachter (Antwerp, 1840), pp. 57, 82.

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contacts, migrated to London in 1550. Van der Erven became a prominent printer of bibles and theological tracts. He left London after the accession of Mary and followed a large group of migrants to Emden.[97] Similarly, the Dutch printer Steven Mierdmans took refuge in London in 1546.[98]

How large was the influence of the stranger churches on the publication of Protestant literature? That a stream of forbidden books printed in England did go to the Netherlands is evident, and that it was considerable we can deduct from the efforts which the civil authorities made to catch book *colporteurs* coming from England. The case of the merchant Agostino Boazio demonstrates their hypersensitivity about anything heretical coming from England. In 1563 the Netherlandish authorities arrested Agostino Boazio, not just on the grounds that he possessed and travelled through Antwerp with forbidden books but also because he had on him a letter which he had intended to send to someone in England. He had to explain who this person was, on what business he was writing to him, and more importantly, what religion this person entertained. Boazio pointed out that this person in England was just a business acquaintance whom he had met in Calais. He was about to write to him because he awaited money from him. He stressed, however, that this person was of the "good" religion, i.e. a Catholic.[99] Earlier, in 1560, the Spanish ambassador had expressed his fear that a large book colportage network might have been operating between England and Flanders, which the strangers in London would have set up.[100] Although there is no direct evidence that the stranger churches did establish such a scheme, one only needs to look at documents from the criminal courts in the Low Countries and at the letters in the churches' archives to see what an important part books played in the Reformed movement. Utenhove, Micronius, à Lasco, and Deleene were scholars in their own right, and the circulation of books for study as well as their own efforts to translate books become clear from their letters. Similarly, it was often on the

97 Decavele, *De Dageraad*, p. 323.

98 Willem Heijting, "Early Reformation Literature from the Printing Shop of Mattheus Crom and Steven Mierdmans", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 74:2 (1994), 143–61 (p. 148); Andrew G. Johnston, "L'imprimerie et la Réforme aux Pays-Bas, 1520–c. 1555", in *La Réforme et le livre: L'Europe de l'imprimé (1517–v. 1570)*, ed. Jean-François Gilmont (Paris, 1990), pp. 155–86 (p. 160); Andrew G. Johnston and Jean-François Gilmont, "L'imprimerie et la Réforme à Anvers", in *La Réforme et le livre*, pp. 191–216 (p. 206).

99 "Personen te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw voor het 'feit van religie' gerechtelijk vervolgd (vervolg) (1559–1567): Lijst en ambachtelijke bijhoorige stukken", ed. Pieter Génard, *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 9 (1936), 1–383 (pp. 153–56).

100 Decavele, *De Dageraad*, 1, p. 413, with reference to Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Les relations des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le règne de Philippe II* (Brussels, 1882), II, pp. 526–57.

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basis of forbidden books found on suspects that the criminal courts in the Low Countries were able to condemn Reformers. In one case three members of the Dutch Church in London, whom civil authorities imprisoned while they were travelling in Flanders and then burned at Hondschoote in 1560, were all carrying books from England.[101]

It is impossible to measure the scale of the book trade, and even more so its influence on Reformed thought. That ideas did spread via the medium of books is well-known, although even on that subject we must make some reservations. Since the cost of a book was high, books were only available to a part of the population, and within that circle again only to the literate.[102] The broader population of the Low Countries was thus more likely to come into contact with evangelical ideas through other ways, for instance through songs or through the chambers of rhetoric in the Low Countries. These chambers staged plays which sometimes stressed Christian humanist concerns for church reform or criticised the Catholic Church.[103] The singing of psalms, often using simple or well-known melodies, also helped the spread of Reformed ideas. The singing of psalms was an excellent way to reach the lower classes and could easily lead to revolutionary messages and offensive parodies. Rebecca Wagner Oettinger has proven the importance of music, and of singing in particular, for the spread of the Lutheran movement and saw singing as almost synonymous with Lutheranism.[104] Music soon became a successful medium for the Reformation in England too. As Bishop Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr in March 1560, the practice of congregational singing won people over to the Elizabethan religious settlement. He described how the practice of singing in public had commenced in one little church in London and that churches near and far away, all over England, soon took up this idea. He claimed that it brought thousands of people together at St Paul's Cathedral after the church services to sing.[105]

Two ministers undertook the task of composing psalms suitable for the liturgy of the stranger churches. For the French congregations of London and

101 Decavele, *De Dageraad*, I, p. 412, with reference to Louis Prosper Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe II* (Brussels, 1867), I, pp. 251–52.

102 According to Andrew Johnston there was a peculiar situation in the Low Countries, where only a very small part of the population seems to have been illiterate and bibles were widespread. See Johnston, "L'imprimerie et la Réforme", pp. 167–80.

103 Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005).

104 Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 204–9.

105 *The Zurich letters, comprising the correspondence of several English bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian reformers, during the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge, 1842) Letter 30 Bishop Jewel to Peter Martyr, pp. 70–72.

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Glastonbury under the reign of Edward VI the minister Valerand Poullain composed a psalter along Strasbourg lines. Jan Utenhove on the other hand had commenced the writing of a song book for his London congregation under Edward VI and published twenty-five psalms. The printer van der Erven reprinted them in Emden in 1557 and Utenhove added other psalms in the following years.[106] As a basis for his psalter, Utenhove used the 1540 Flemish Souderliedekens, whose rhythms were in their own turn based on folk music.[107] The first few psalms from Utenhove were printed in 1552 in London and subsequently in Emden, to be added to continually and reprinted in 1561 in London. A few months after Utenhove's death in 1566, some members of the Dutch Church improved and expanded Utenhove's psalm project and John Day printed the last edition.[108] Although they formed a blueprint for psalm singing in the Dutch Reformed tradition, whose influence has continued in some quarters to the present, congregations stopped using them in 1571.

The success and influence of Utenhove's psalter lay in the fact that it did not have to be widely read to become part of popular culture. Those who sang Utenhove's psalms need not necessarily to have read his psalter to know its songs. Although it is hard to establish the trade routes of illegal books, and to know how many books London distributed and what was printed and disseminated, there is plenty of information on the spread of psalm singing in the Netherlands. One only has to look at the documents of civil processes in Antwerp to see how central psalms were to the success and spread of Reformed thought in the Netherlands. Psalms were a medium of empowerment and resistance. When comparing these documents with Oettinger's research on the German Lutheran Reformation, it seems clear that her findings are comparable to the evidence for psalm singing in the Low Countries. She emphasizes the sense of identity and community which the singing of psalms evoked.[109] Leaver drew such a conclusion about Dutch psalms only very cautiously.[110] Yet it is clear from archival records in Belgium that this was similarly the case for the groups of psalm singers who walked through the streets of Antwerp at

106 Robin Leaver, in his large study on Dutch and English metrical psalters, showed that Zurich's theology affected Utenhove's work in many ways. Robin A. Leaver, *'Goostly Psalms and Spiritual Songes': English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535–1566* (Oxford, 1991), p. 40.

107 Ibid., pp. 90–91.

108 Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 53–55. Evenden believes that the Dutch Church commissioned Day for the psalms because of his reputation and since by 1560 all the well-known Dutch printers who could have printed the work were "either dead or out of business".

109 Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, pp. 204–9.

110 Leaver, *'Goostly Psalms'*, p. 272.

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night and around its prison, as well as for the Protestants marching from or towards Reformed services.[111] The *chanteries* in Valenciennes in 1561 are another example of nightly psalm singing in the Low Countries.[112] The popularity of the Reformed movement in the Low Countries did not just satisfy scholars, it contained elements of empowerment for discontented masses through the uniting force of ideas and also, importantly, of singing. In the 1550s Reformers who had been connected to the Strangers' Church were directly involved in the dissemination of vital theological books and Bible translations, working especially with printers in Emden and quarrelling about translations.

Utenhove's psalter was successful, especially in his own exile community in London. Yet the book competed with several other psalters, among which those of the Dutch Reformer Petrus Dathenus, whose psalters even the consistory of the London Dutch Church preferred over Utenhove's from 1571 onwards. The consistory wanted to switch to Dathenus's psalter to appeal to newcomers used to the practices of the churches in the Netherlands. Perhaps Utenhove's less well-known work *Simplex et fidelis narratio* was at least as important for Dutch Protestants. In this book Utenhove narrated the story of the Strangers' Church under Edward VI and their flight under Mary I. It talks about their journey and the reception on the Continent, first in Denmark, until their settlement in Emden. This did not only glorify the congregation, showing its suffering for the cause of religious reforms, but also sparked a sense of solidarity, sympathy, and community.[113] The exiles believed the Reformers formed God's elect and their exile proved so, and they did not settle easily among host Lutherans. À Lasco had previously attacked the Lutheran Eucharist doctrines in 1552 and did not hold back from further criticism on the journey. The text could thus be read as propaganda. Furthermore, Utenhove published his Dutch translation of the New Testament in Emden in 1556.[114]

Another book which finds its origins in the Strangers' Church under Edward is the *Kleine Cathechismus*, a book that remained long in use in the Dutch Church instead of the Heidelberg Catechism often used in the Low Countries. Martin Micronius wrote it in cooperation with Jan Utenhove and published it in 1552, although they based it on a Catechism from East Frisia, perhaps one

111 See "Personen te Antwerpen", 9, pp. 16–17, 214–21.

112 See for instance Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca/London, 2008), pp. 69–74; C. Rahlenbeck, "Les chanteries de Valenciennes", *Bulletin de la Commission de l'Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes*, 3 (1888), 121–59.

113 Jan Utenhove, *Simplex Et Fidelis Narratio De Instituta Ac Demum Dissipata Belgarum Aliorumq Peregrinorum In Anglia* [...] (Basel, 1560).

114 Utenhove, *Simplex Et Fidelis*, pp. 101–03.

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which à Lasco had composed.[115] This book was reprinted several times in the 1550s and 1560s. Micronius presumably also wrote the *Korte Ondersoeckinghe*, which was a pamphlet which is often bound together with the Catechism and contains the questions and answers used in the Strangers' Church when examining the faith of new members.[116] The Reformed congregation in Brill in Holland adopted it in 1574.[117] Later, in Emden Micronius also wrote another booklet which he published around 1556 and directed to Reformers from Ghent. It described the life and execution of Joris vander Katelijne, a former member of the London Dutch Church, who had returned to Ghent for business purposes and had interrupted a celebration of the mass there.[118]

The French Church was also interested in the book trade, but from France to England rather than the other way round. As such their connections with Calvinists in Orléans revealed that certain Englishmen were attempting to get a few tracts and a new English translation of the Bible printed there in 1565. These Englishmen did not think that the translations of the bibles used in England and printed in Geneva were sound enough.[119] Book traders also stood in front of the church to sell books to its members in the early 1560s. The church attracted such a large crowd of booksellers and buyers that the people who lived in the house adjoining the church complained to the consistory in 1561. The people could barely enter their houses because traders had taken up the space in front of it for the sale of books.[120]

A week earlier the consistory had contemplated the need for des Gallars to publish his Latin church ordinances in French before the adherents of the contested member of the Dutch Church van Haemstede could do so and 'abuse' the text through subtle alterations to words in the translation. Members

115 Martin Micronius, Jan Utenhove, *De kleyne catechismus kinder oft berichtleere der Duyscher ghemeynte to Londen* (London, 1552). Judith Becker, *Gemeindeordnung und Kirchenzucht: Johannes a Lascos Kirchenordnung für London (1555) und die reformierte Konfessionsbildung* (Brill, 2007), p. 39.

116 Johannes à Lasco, Gualterus Delenus, and Martin Micronius, *Een korte ondersoeckinghe des geloofs, ouer de ghene die haer tot de Duydtsche Ghemeynte: die te Londen was, begeuen wooden. Uutghestelt door de Dienaers der selver* ([Emden?], 1559).

117 Gerretsen, *Micronius*, pp. 24–26, in which the author also argued that it was Micronius who wrote the *Korte Ondersoeckinghe*, rather than it being a work by Micronius and Utenhove.

118 Martin Micronius, *Een waerachteghe historie van Hoste (gheseyt Jooris) vander Katelyne, te Ghendt om het vry opentlick straffen der afgodische leere, ghebrandt ten grooten nutte ende vertroostinghe aller Christenen gheschreven. Waer in ghehandelt werdt vander Misse* (Emden, [1556]). See pp. 183–84.

119 Actes du Consistoire 1, p. 118. The Actes do not give any more information about this peculiar extract.

120 Ibid., p. 43.

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of the consistory funded the project of printing the ordinances which the consistory decided to undertake. The consistory decided that the elder Anthoine Cappelle would lend money to undertake the project while Anthoine Du Ponchel provided the paper, which was the costliest item. The profits of the sale would go to the poor of the church.[121] The French Church must have hoped to distribute the book widely. This was the French edition, des Gallars having previously published the text in Latin. We do not know how many books the consistory ordered, but Johnston estimated that the norm for the issue of printed books and pamphlets around that time was 500 to 2500, with an average of 1000 copies for a printed book.[122] The French Church realised the potentially explosive situation of the publication of the translation falling into the hands of opponents.

The exile churches in England and the Holy Roman Empire thus took the lead as producers of Dutch reformatory literature from 1550 onwards.[123] The security of the refugee centres moved the Reformers to write. The writing of letters to other Reformers or to family and friends in the Low Countries also stimulated the movability of news. The mere existence of these exile centres had a large influence on the Dutch Reformation. Protestants in the Low Countries knew that if civil authorities persecuted them for expressing their beliefs, they could, in the last resort, flee. They knew that Reformed Dutch churches could flourish elsewhere, since Dutch churches existed in exile. More importantly the refugee churches provided living and working models for churches in the Low Countries, complete with church regulations. These church regulations formed some of the most prominent literature produced in these exile centres, and especially in London.[124] The presence of a network of Reformers and a relative freedom to convey religious ideas and experience in London and Canterbury for foreign scholars under Edward VI, made it possible for à Lasco to experiment with the congregation and draft his church regulations. Micronius and Utenhove helped him to produce the Cathechism in several versions, which would become a standard work for members of continental Reformed churches.[125] Their writings, especially fruitful when working in London, formed a blueprint of the early literature of the Dutch Reformation.

121 Actes du Consistoire I, p. 39.

122 Johnston, "L'imprimerie et la Réforme", pp. 167–80.

123 Marnef, *Antwerpen*, p. 69.

124 Studies on des Gallars and à Lasco emphasize the influence of the church regulations, as we shall see. See in particular Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church*, and Spicer, "Nicholas des Gallars". See below.

125 The earliest version was Martin Micronius, Jan Utenhove, *De kleyne catechismus kinder oft berichtleere der Duyscher ghemeynte to Londen* (London, 1552).

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During the reign of Edward VI several printers had moved to London amongst whom were Gillis van der Erven from Ghent and Steven Mierdmans from Antwerp. Nicholaas van den Berghe, who anglicized his name to Nicholas Hill, and Wouter van Lin were two other printers who moved from Antwerp. They were responsible for the printing of most of the Dutch Protestant works in London under Edward VI.[126] Presumably a large part of their printed works went to the Netherlands, perhaps via the networks of the London congregations. However, before leaving Antwerp, Mierdmans already printed large amounts of works in English, especially various bibles and New Testaments by Miles Coverdale and William Tyndale for both the English market and the English at Antwerp.[127] The accession of Mary moved these printers to flee from England to Emden, which took over as the largest centre of Reformed printing for the Low Countries. Most writings of Utenhove, Micronius, and à Lasco were printed in Emden, and some in Basel. The congregation of Emden counted Nicholaas van den Berghe and Steven Mierdmans as its main printers.[128] Other printers in the Low Countries printed many books in secret, either locally or under commission in France. The prominence of London as a printing centre for books for the Low Countries may have been short-lived and may have ended with Edward VI's early death, yet it remained a stimulus for the strangers to write their influential church orders.

After his departure from England, à Lasco wrote down the church regulations of the Strangers' Church under the title *Forma ac ratio*.[129] It was first published in Emden in 1555, after the dissolution of the Strangers' Church, and à Lasco probably meant it to serve as a model for congregations in the rest of Europe. It was one of the most complete church ordinances available to Protestants.[130] Other guidelines for the stranger congregation existed simultaneously during the reign of Edward VI and influenced à Lasco's *Forma ac ratio*; for instance the *Compendium Doctrinae*, his own earlier work from 1551 which served as a book for confession for the Strangers' Church, and, arguably the

126 Marnef, *Antwerpen*, p. 69.

127 Heijting, "Early Reformation Literature", pp. 149–50.

128 Johnston, "L'imprimerie et la Réforme", p. 158; Gustaaf Janssens, "'Verjaagd uit Nederland': Zuidnederlandse emigratie in de zestiende eeuw, een historiografisch overzicht (ca. 1968–1994)", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 75:1 (1995), 102–19 (p. 114).

129 John à Lasco, *Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici ministerij, in peregrinorum, potissimum verò Germanorum Ecclesia instituta Londini in Anglia, per pientissimum principem Angliae etc. Regem Eduardum, eius nominis sextum: anno post Christum natum 1550. Addito ad calcem libelli privilegio suae Maiestatis* (Emden, 1554).

130 Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church*, p. 5, Becker, *Gemeindeordnung und Kirchenzucht*, pp. 27–39.

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oldest, Micronius' *Ordinancien*.[131] A Dutch summary of the church ordinances for the Dutch congregation in London by Micronius appeared in 1554. A French translation of the 1555 edition followed in 1556, and a complete Dutch translation in 1557.[132] The work survives in several editions and many copies, indicative of its significance.[133] Exiles who returned to the Continent after the death of Edward VI could use this model in other congregations.[134] John à Lasco's influence also extended to the congregations at Frankfurt, where he helped settling exiles and was involved in its internal controversies.[135] Dirk Rodgers and Diarmaid MacCulloch even argue that à Lasco's work shaped the English and Scottish Reformation.[136]

During the reign of Edward VI à Lasco and Valerand Poullain inspired each other's church ordinances. The French congregation in Strasbourg had inspired both Reformers.[137] Valerand Poullain had been the minister of the Walloon Reformed congregation of Glastonbury during the reign of Edward VI and had published his own set of church regulations in 1552. He fled to the Continent with his flock after the accession of Mary.[138] In 1556 à Lasco

131 John à Lasco, *Compendium doctrinae de vera unicacque dei et Christi Ecclesia, eiusque fide et confessione pura : in qua Peregrinorum Ecclesia Londini instituta est, autoritate atque assensu Sacrae Majestatis Regiae. Quem Deus Opt. Max. ad singulare Ecclesiae suae decus ornamentum ac defensionem* (*per gratiam suam*) *servet, guvernet et fortunet* (London, 1551); Martin Micronius, *De Christlicke Ordinancien der Nederlandtscher Ghemeinten Christi, die* [...] *in't iaer 1550 te Londen inghestelt was* (Emden, 1554); Becker, *Gemeindeordnung und Kirchenzucht*, pp. 36–38.

132 Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church*, pp. 6–7. Springer also emphasizes that a German version of Micronius' summary also existed by 1565 and that an Elizabethan English manuscript version exists.

133 Ibid., p. 6.

134 Ibid., pp. 111–47.

135 Several publications of his deal with the controversies in Frankfurt. For instance, John à Lasco, *Purgatio ministrorum in ecclesiis peregrin. Francofurti, adversus eorum calumnias, qui ipso rum doctrinam, de Christi, domini in coena sua praesentia, dissensionis accusant ab Augustana confessione* (Basel, 1556).

136 Dirk W. Rodgers, *John à Lasco in England* (New York, 1996); Diarmaid MacCulloch, "The importance of Jan Laski", in *Johannes a Lasco (1499–1560): Polnischer Baron, Humanist und europäischer Reformator*, ed. Christoph Strohm (Tübingen, 2000), pp. 315–45; and Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church*, pp. 144–47.

137 See Becker, *Gemeindeordnung und Kirchenzucht*, pp. 33–35.

138 Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church*, p. 50. Valerand Poullain, *Doctrine de la Penitence Publique et la Forme d'icelle ainsi comme elle se practique en l'Eglise des estrangiers à Londres, deuant qu'on vienne à l'excommunication. Ensemble aussi la forme d'administrer la Saincte Cene* (London, 1552). See also Valerand Poullain, *L'ordre des prieres et ministere*

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published a French translation of the *Forma ac ratio*.[139] In 1561 Nicholas des Gallars, the prominent minister of the French Church in London, decided to reform the church institutions of this church, and wrote the *Forme de Police Ecclésiastique de Londres*.[140] Des Gallars used à Lasco's *Forma ac ratio* as a basis but remodelled it on Genevan practices. He initially published the book in Latin, but the French Church ordered a French translation, something which, according to Patrick Collinson, suggests that there was a large market for this work across the Channel too.[141] Des Gallars's *Forme* widely gained recognition and the London French Church used it as a basis for its constitution.[142] Yet this does not mean that all its members accepted it. In 1564 one of the members of a Calvinist church in France who wished to join the French Church claimed that the book was adequate enough, but that he did not agree with everything it contained. Though he considered the work useful as a guideline for congregations in some places, it was not fit for every community. The consistory reprimanded him for his criticism and commanded him to hand over the copy which he had read and annotated mockingly.[143] The Church wanted new members to observe this book when joining, which might imply that the majority of its members must have been able to read.

The existence and stability of the Strangers' Church gave Reformers the chance to write books or pamphlets, even though most of them only came off the printing presses at Emden. The authors of the booklets attempted to appeal to a broad market both through the format of their books, for instance through psalms and a catechism, but also through the popular content of their writings. The success of these booklets was a major achievement for Dutch Reformed faith and served the communities at Emden and Elizabethan London as well as the spread of Reformed thought in general.

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ecclesiastique, avec la Forme de Penitence Pub. et certaines Prieres de l'Eglise de Londres, et la Confession de Foy de l'Eglise de Glastonbury en Somerset (London, 1552).

139 John à Lasco, *Toute la forme et maniere du ministere ecclesiastique en l'eglise des estrangers dresee a Londres en Angleterre, par le Prince tresfidele dudit pays, le roy Edouard. VI. de ce nom: L'an apres l'incarnation de Christ. 1550. auec le preuilege de la Majesté a la fin du liure* ([Emden], 1556).

140 Nicholas des Gallars, *Forme de police ecclésiastique instituée a Londres* ([London], 1561).

141 Patrick Collinson, "The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 20:5 (1964, for 1963), 528–55 (pp. 533, 563).

142 Spicer, "Nicholas des Gallars", pp. 552–63.

143 Actes du Consistoire 1, p. 8.

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3 The Influence of the Stranger Churches on Their Continental Brethren

Although the strangers wrote authoritative books during their stay in England under Edward VI, and later on in Emden, this period more specifically had an impact on the formation and institutionalization of the Dutch Reformed movement. The dispersal of members of the first Strangers' Church meant the return of Reformers to the Low Countries. Yet some were eager to return to England when Elizabeth came to the throne. As mentioned, it is impossible to measure the influence of the existence of the stranger churches, and their book trade, on the Reformation in the Low Countries in the period under consideration. What is clear from their letters and consistory records is their participation in or instigation of the promotion of the Reformed faith in the Low Countries via their information networks, the return patterns of immigrants, the sending of preachers, their relationship with the English government, and their finances.

There are no extant consistory records for the period of Edward VI's reign. Most of the letters which form part of the Dutch Church's archival remains for this period originated from Utenhove.[144] To get a better idea of the Reformers' aims for the promotion of their faith I shall here consider their correspondence and published writings. The churches' ministers and elders regularly engaged in correspondence with leading theologians on the Continent. Utenhove and à Lasco identified with a top-down Reformation in which they, as scholars, would serve as examples of good Christians. Most of the church's ministers in the period under consideration formed part of a network of distinguished Reformed scholars or noblemen meeting each other in major Protestant cities. Utenhove and à Lasco, for instance, were noblemen. This is probably one of the reasons why a tension concerning obedience towards the princely ruler is visible in some of their writings.[145]

This tension is most evident in Micronius' writing of around 1566 on the execution of Joris van der Katelijne.[146] In this booklet he praised the Reformer van der Katelijne, whom the government in Ghent had executed as a heretic. The aim of the book was threefold. First, it served to turn Katelijne's story into a narration about a true martyr and innocent soul for the public memory.

144 The correspondence in Archivum.

145 These simultaneously caution the reader against violence and resistance while also vigorously attacking secular authorities about the persecution of Reformers and warning them against protecting the Catholic Church. More about this in the following chapters.

146 Martin Micronius, *Een Waerachteghe Historie*.

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Secondly, Micronius wished to contradict the idea that Katelijne's interruption of the mass in Ghent was an act of rebellion. In this way he both confirmed the martyr status of Katelijne and the intentions of the Reformed movement which he declared were solely to instruct the people and to open up debate but not to revolt. The writer wished to see everyone partaking in the Reformed religion and the people instructed in his 'true' faith. Thirdly, he attempted to gain the sympathy of his readers, again to purify Katelijne's name and to promote the Reformed movement. Such Reformed writings would find a market in the Low Countries after the Strangers' Church's dispersal.

The congregation's move to Emden and other German cities brought clear attempts to promote the faith in the Low Countries.[147] The Reformed congregation of Emden successfully sent Adriaan van Haemstede, who presumably resided in London with the congregation under Edward VI, to Antwerp as a preacher at the request of the minister Gaspar van der Heyden to help him care for his growing flock.[148] Yet, the inclusion of London exiles in Emden was problematic and caused Godfried van Winghen to write to Utenhove that the situation in Emden was miserable. He complained that he had grown weary with men's ingratitude and had abandoned all hope for promoting "the purity of the Gospel" in the Netherlands.[149] At the same time, in German exile cities the integration and coexistence of refugees with the local communities often depended on their influence on social, economic, and religious circumstances and the congregations did not always find a stable home.[150]

Utenhove's Dutch translation of the New Testament brought van Winghen considerable pain since the latter was responsible for its production while arguments with the printer prevented it from being printed in a more accessible quarto version. The work moreover provoked large discussions about its long title and the translation of certain words. In the end the printers sent a few hundred copies of this New Testament to the borders of Flanders, but five or six hundred copies contained errors: for example, a proofreader had not noticed that a page had been printed upside down. In a similar fashion 2,500 other copies from Emden had contained mistakes, yet the printer had been able to resolve the problem. The sale also incurred linguistic problems in Flanders since van Winghen and Utenhove used a version of Low German which was

147 Archivum, 2, Letter 21, pp. 63–72.

148 W.G. Goeters, "Dokumenten van Adriaan van Haemstede, waaronder de gereformeerde geloofsbelijdenis van 1559", *Nederlands archief voor* kerkgeschiedenis, 5:1 (1907), 1–67 (p. 2).

149 Archivum, 2, Letter 21, pp. 63–72.

150 Dünnwald, *Konfessionsstreit*, p. 49; for Wesel see Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark/Plymouth, 2011).

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not entirely suitable for Flemish readers. Enraged about the whole affair and translation disputes, the printer Herman van den Ende accused van Winghen of being too devoted to Utenhove and his translation of the New Testament. Since van Winghen did not want to deviate too much from Utenhove's original version when editing it, van den Ende decided to ask Micronius instead to compile a version adapted to the Flemish market. This was a decision which displeased van Winghen since it meant that Micronius constantly harassed him.[151]

At the same time another Emden printer had asked van Winghen to work towards a collation of the Liesveldt Bible, the Zurich edition, and the edition of Luther in a bid to compete with a version of another Emden printer. The competing printers themselves also pushed Reformers for publishable work and arranged the dissemination of books to Flanders.[152] Yet, throughout the Emden period, Utenhove and à Lasco were very much preoccupied with the conversion of Poland to the Protestant Reformation. Both spent time in Poland trying to negotiate with the Court. In the end their mission did not succeed. This led Utenhove to write in 1558 that religion in Poland was only making slow progress. Utenhove was, however, concerned about the sale of his New Testament. Curiously, he sent his booklet on the adventures of the London congregation in Denmark after their dispersal to Geneva for publication, and not to Emden, perhaps hoping for a larger public.[153] However, according to Hall, Calvin did not want to see it published in Geneva.[154]

Hall might have jumped to conclusions too quickly. A letter from Sebastian Pech, à Lasco's servant, in 1559 talked about several books which he had sent to Geneva for publication, one of which was presumably this booklet. He revealed to Utenhove that Calvin thought they had been published a while ago and that the city council of Geneva did not want to see the books published there. Pech concluded that his connections at Geneva had not been too bothered about their publication.[155] Eventually a printer in Basel published it and in 1560 Petrus Dathenus held forty copies in Frankfurt, another exile centre, presumably to be sold at the large annual fair, and 150 copies went to Poland with à Lasco's servant, just after the death of à Lasco.[156] Yet Utenhove also kept in touch about developments in the Low Countries. In the same year Arnoldus

151 Archivum, 2, Letter 21, pp. 63–72.
152 Ibid.
153 Archivum, 2, Letter 23, pp. 76–78.
154 Basil Hall, "John à Lasco, 1499–1560: A Pole in Reformation England", *Friends of Dr Williams's Library*, Twenty-Fifth Lecture (London, 1971), 1–36 (p. 33).
155 Archivum, 2, Letter 39, pp. 118–23.
156 Ibid., Letter 41, pp. 128–31.

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Piscator, a Reformed minister, wrote from Loppersum, near Emden, that in Antwerp civil authorities had imprisoned twelve brethren, who were members of the Church under the Cross there, and that they awaited death.[157] Not only Reformed men developed these communication networks; from the letters it is clear that women also held correspondence with the Reformers or, more often, with their wives. Their wives often sent greetings which their husbands had to convey, and the complaints about certain women not replying to their wives' letters were ubiquitous.[158]

In January 1559 Peter Martyr informed à Lasco and Utenhove about politics in England and said that the news of Elizabeth's accession to the English throne would please them since it would advance the "the kingdom of Christ".[159] Discussions of whether or not most of the migrants from the Low Countries came over for economic or religious reasons have regularly surfaced ever since. A persuasive answer seeks to combine economic and religious reasons with other factors. A combination of economic problems in the Low Countries and the attraction of the Reformed religion lured many of them to flee to England. Perhaps the poor care which the exile churches offered was an incentive to some. Yet others might have found a combination of unhappiness with their economic, religious, and even family life persuaded them to cross the Channel. Similarly, people from other exile centres, such as Frankfurt, came over to London because there were better chances of employment there.[160] A number of the stranger churches' members after the Elizabethan resettlement of the churches were people who had lived there since Edward VI and did not flee under Mary because of the need for craftsmen in London at that time. Publicly they turned Roman Catholic again. This was a 'sin' which the Elizabethan stranger churches would only forgive after the members did repentance. Increasingly, ministers active in the Low Countries started using the churches as short-term shelters.

Some of the migrants soon felt disillusioned with the London Dutch Church. There were insulting comparisons of the church with the pope and disparaging comments by some who found the 'Turkish' to be 'more sympathetic' than the consistory.[161] They felt imprisoned as the church monitored their lives. This means that they either had little experience of consistorial discipline in the Low Countries, or that the Reformed churches in London

157 Ibid., Letter 24, pp. 79–80.

158 Especially noticeable in Archivum. Unfortunately, none of their letters survive, pushing these women into obscurity.

159 Archivum, 2, Letter 35, p. 107.

160 Ibid., Letter 51, pp. 157–58.

161 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 297.

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were stricter in ecclesiastical discipline than those in the Low Countries. Their reasons for moving to England were probably usually mixed. This also implies that we need to be careful with the usage of the terms 'exiles' and 'refugees'. Some members travelled back and forth between England and the Continent. This also shows that confessionalization and radicalization did not necessarily happen. Similarly, large cities in the Low Countries also functioned as refugee centres, such as Antwerp, for instance for Walloon Reformers, as the anonymity of a larger city allowed Reformers to stay hidden.

That members regularly returned becomes clear in many sources, two of the most obvious ones being the consistory records themselves and judicial sources in the Low Countries. Chapter 3 discusses well-known cases in which members, and even elders and deacons, of the Dutch Church of London and the Flemish Church of Sandwich partook in prison breaking and in secret and armed public preaching between 1559 and 1565. This happened especially in West-Flanders, which was closely connected with the Sandwich congregation. Peter Deleene, minster of the London Dutch Church, travelled to the Low Countries in 1560.[162] The Dutch consistory acts regularly mention members getting caught, including seven who were executed, and refer to another fourteen members who left for the Low Countries. Some members asked the consistory whether it was permissible for them to leave for the Low Countries. Whereas in 1560 the consistory of the Dutch Church reacted encouragingly to invitations from congregations in the Low Countries for experienced Reformers in the foreign churches to assist with the ministry, the church became increasingly anxious about the safety of its members and gave negative travel advice. When a certain Adrianus Moravius, possibly another name for Adrian Saravia, asked the consistory permission to leave for a ministry in the Low Countries in 1561, the consistory permitted him to go, but only if it was safe.[163]

Before 1562 several persons left for the Low Countries for 'the evangelical cause', i.e. to preach, yet the Dutch Church did not usually command them to do so. Willem de Schildere and Hans Broiteur left in 1560 after a call for assistance from Godfried van Winghen who still served as a minister in Flanders. Broiteur told the consistory that he would become assistant preacher in Flanders.[164] In a few other cases we are not told why they departed. In another case the consistory found out that a member had departed only after they sent out a messenger to invite him for a meeting with the elders.[165] As I will show in

162 Ibid., p. 202.
163 Ibid., p. 201.
164 Ibid., p. 49.
165 Ibid.

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the next chapter, the consistories were cautious about sending ministers over to the Low Countries, yet their members and ministers did go, often after a call for assistance from Reformers in the Low Countries.

Despite its concerns for the safety of sending ministers to the Low Countries, the Dutch consistory initially hoped that the Reformed movement would spread through Flanders from within, as indeed it did. In their Catechism, Utenhove and Micronius reminded Reformers that they should not let themselves be prevented from learning and attending the Sacraments.[166] The consistory seemed less happy about members travelling to the Low Countries from 1562 onwards, when unruly behaviour in the Low Countries could compromise the churches' reputations. The Dutch Church emphasized that the congregation should lead a quiet life and the consistory frequently felt obliged to reprimand members whose conduct jeopardized the church's peaceful coexistence with the English authorities. This would validate the usefulness of the consistorial discipline and calls for obedience to church authority. The consistory believed that a peaceful and obedient congregation would better protect them against informers and the jealousy of local craftsmen from which the congregations greatly suffered. It would also show their goodwill towards the English government.

We should also remember that the London exile churches served as outposts for Reformed theology in action. Petrus Dathenus, as a representative of the Frankfurt exile churches, wrote to Utenhove about their internal disagreements which led to problems with the city council in 1561. In the letter Dathenus warned that the dissensions within the Frankfurt exile churches caused scandal all over Europe, something which he hoped would lead other Reformed churches to be more careful in their government.[167] This too was a reason for London to be careful in its dealings with the Low Countries, to protect both their own exile status in England and their international reputation. It would explain why the churches treated the excommunication of their first minister, van Haemstede, very firmly. This had led to their first disagreement with the Antwerp congregation, many of whose members remembered van Haemstede as their former minister. Even Utenhove's uncle believed that the consistory of the London Dutch Church had treated van Haemstede too harshly and declared that this was the popular opinion in Antwerp.[168] Although London was

166 Jan Utenhove, Martin Micronius, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere, diemen te Londen, in den Duydtsche Ghemeynte was ghebruykende* (Emden, 1558), fol. 27.

167 Archivum, 2, Letter 56, pp. 172–74.

168 Ibid., pp. 162–64.

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a major exile centre for Dutch Protestants, Reformers in the Low Countries did not always look upon the stranger churches favourably.

Despite the churches' caution, Grindal actually expected them to promote the gospel in the Low Countries. He wrote a letter to the Frankfurt city council in 1561 in a bid to change its mind about their threats of expulsion towards the Flemish and French Reformed churches there. In this letter he recalled the English hospitality towards the strangers and proclaimed that God would bless them if they decided to let the brethren stay. Moreover, he argued, it would also be beneficial for the Evangelical movement as a whole to keep the Flemish refugee church in its city since the Gospel would then be promoted in Flanders thanks to Frankfurt.[169] The English government supported the promotion of the Gospel in Flanders through the churches. The reservations of the stranger churches of London regarding the Low Countries was not solely an act of self-preservation. The stranger churches did wish to see the Gospel promoted in the Low Countries, yet their opinion about the ways in which this would happen differed from that of their brethren, scared as they were of any kind of violent or rebellious behaviour, which would reflect badly on their church and provoke comparisons with the Anabaptist regime in Münster.

Their financial situation as well as internal conflicts also distracted the stranger churches' attention away from the Low Countries in the period under consideration in this chapter. The churches maintained a network of poor relief and many of its members arrived in London with little or no support. Yet these churches did count some wealthy Dutch members as well as some well-to-do English supporters. In 1562 Grindal asked Utenhove to assist in trade negotiations between England and the Netherlands, and in persuading him to do so decided to remind Utenhove how indebted the Dutch Church was to the Company of Merchants.[170] Bearing in mind the wealth of some members, it is worth remembering how poor the churches were as a whole and how many burdens they had to carry. The churches complained to Elizabeth and the Privy Council in 1560 that informers molested many of its members on a daily basis, even though the strangers enjoyed privileges and liberties. They claimed that it hindered members from trading, feeding their families and paying taxes.[171]

Moreover, the plague hit the stranger churches hard in 1563 and 1564. The French minister des Gallars's wife succumbed to the epidemic, as well as Peter Deleene. The minister had acquired an assisting minister, Nicolaus Carineus, since November 1562. Deleene became ill in August and died in September 1563,

169 Ibid., pp. 170–80.
170 Ibid., pp. 210–14.
171 Ibid., pp. 124–26.

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and Carineus a short while later.[172] After their death, Godfried van Winghen took up the ministry of the London Dutch Church and left the Flemish Church at Sandwich. The churches also visited the sick. Some consistory members, and undoubtedly many Londoners, fled the city.[173] Others approached the churches and offered their help hoping to be remunerated in return. The consistories admonished people attending the sick not to leave. The churches opened up plague houses, paid for caretakers to assist the consistory members in visiting the sick, gathered financial support, and assisted in the drawing up of testaments. The churches hired surgeons whom they paid a weekly stipend to care for their poor. Master Rembartus, the surgeon of the Dutch Church would also visit the richer members of the church, but these paid for the surgeon themselves.[174] However, when Rembartus died at Norden in East Frisia two years later, a representative of the congregation there wrote to Utenhove that the Dutch Church was still indebted to him for his services during the plague. He urged the Church to send the money to his impoverished widow.[175] The churches continued to assemble the Coetus to discuss their measures in the times of plague and hoped to learn from each other's methods.[176] In July 1563 the Coetus decided to put pressure on the richer members into giving more financial support.[177] The churches also arranged burials for their dead.

The frequent quarrels which divided the Dutch Church also limited its potential to function. This was an element from which the French Church was relatively spared. The French Church was aware of the danger of internal division and stayed aloof from making judgements relating to certain theological conflicts which the Dutch Church struggled with, in order not to bring 'ruin' to their own church.[178] First, the dispute over van Haemstede between 1560 and 1562 had divided the Dutch Church. After the subsequent plague, a debate about godparents further deeply divided it when van Winghen became its minister. Quarrels between the deacons and the elders accompanied this dispute. We will discuss these quarrels in more detail in the next chapter. The latter issue hindered the celebration of the Lord's Supper and caused 'great scandal' all over Europe, as this theological disagreement raged between 1564 and 1565, and continued to flare up occasionally until 1568.[179] Scandal and division

172 Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. xii–xiv; Actes du Consistoire 1, p. xxvii.
173 Actes du Consistoire 1, p. 110.
174 Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 428–30.
175 Archivum, 2, Letter 79, pp. 244–45.
176 Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 428–30.
177 Ibid., p. 431.
178 Actes du Consistoire 1, p. 49.
179 Archivum, 2, Letter 80, pp. 246–54.

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within the Dutch Church would jeopardise any unofficial or secret organized activity towards the promotion of the Reformed faith in the Low Countries as well as any control over their members. There is little evidence of Walloon or French-speaking subjects returning to the Low Countries in the records of the French Church in the period under consideration. From the moment when des Gallars became minister of the French Church, its policies became more oriented towards France and Geneva.

4 Conclusion

When assessing the influence of the exile churches on evangelical reform in the Low Countries, we should be careful to distinguish between the settlement from Edward VI and the Elizabethan settlements. They had very different impacts on the Low Countries. The foreigners in the England of Edward VI were primarily concerned with winning support for evangelical doctrines and their notions of church government. Their efforts towards the publication of instruction books provided the Low Countries, England, as well as other exile churches with ecclesiological models. The dispersal of the communities brought convinced Reformers with experience in the organisation of congregations back to the Continent. Emden now became the main printing centre from which their Reformed literature was spread. The first stranger congregations were vital for the promotion of Reformed thought in the Low Countries and some of their prominent members wrote catechisms and church orders based on their experiences in exile, although it is difficult to measure their impact exactly.

The Strangers' Church had strong connections with Reformers in the Rhineland, Strasbourg, and Zurich. Its outlook was international. Its superintendent, John à Lasco, might have had no specific link with the Low Countries, other than with Emden, yet because of the trade connections and increasing persecutions many Netherlanders settled in England and formed the congregations. While this first Strangers' Church shaped the institutional form of Dutch Reformed thought, the Elizabethan stranger churches as institutions did not have such significance for the Low Countries. The stranger churches were a lot more cautious and struggled for survival during the first few years. They only allowed their members to preach in the Low Countries if it was safe to do so. The importance of the stranger churches for Reformed thought in the Low Countries lay not so much in its functioning as a model for church organisation but rather in its mere existence and in the enthusiasm of some of

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its members. In contrast to later periods, the ministers of the early Elizabethan Dutch Church identified with those from the time of Edward VI, having been members of this church and having formed part of a circle of Dutch scholars who met in German cities even before the first settlement. Yet because these ministers lacked the charisma of John à Lasco, the Elizabethan stranger churches were beset with internal divisions. In the early Elizabethan period, the churches slowly lost their international appeal and started to concentrate on the establishment of their own authority and legitimacy.

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CHAPTER 2

Between Dissent and Cooperation: Relations between the Foreign Churches in England and Connections with the Low Countries

Whereas a migrant to Edward VI's England had a choice of only three foreign Reformed churches to join in 1550 (the London Strangers' Church, divided into two linguistic groups, and the Canterbury or Glastonbury churches), Elizabethan immigrants had plenty of options. They could join one of more than twenty foreign congregations. Outside London, other foreign churches could be found in East Anglia and the south-east of England.[1] Migrants could move between churches if they received attestations from their previous church. Correspondence networks existed between the consistories as consistories sometimes communicated with one another about migrants in order to oversee their behaviour. When in March 1570 Aernoult de Keysere and Eyken van Erckendale, for instance, wanted to join the Dutch Church in London, its consistory first wanted to contact the Flemish Church of Norwich to inquire about their behaviour in that city and about Eyken's previous marriage.[2] Foreign settlements were most common in places with trade links to the Continent, such as Norwich, Southampton, and Sandwich. The failure of communities in York and Bristol to attract migrants and ministers in sufficient numbers to become proper congregations demonstrates the importance of the availability of easy trade or travel routes connecting them with each other and with the Continent.[3]

Excepting the stranger churches in London, scholars have primarily studied individual congregations rather than the ways in which they differed or related to each other on particular subjects. When studying the foreign churches from a comparative perspective, understanding the ways in which the churches, and the members of their consistories, related to one another matters. The institutional and consistorial connections between them reveal to what extent they were committed to religious reform and revolt in the Low Countries. In

1 See map 1.

2 Acta, pp. 62–63.

3 For dealings with Bristol see Actes du Consistoire II, p. 169. The Acta, pp. 127–128 mentions the 'brethren of York'. While there is no direct reference to a congregation in York, this is an indication that such a congregation existed.

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this chapter I will therefore focus on the connections between churches and consistories on several levels. The relationship and cooperation between the stranger churches in London forms a starting point, followed by an investigation of the interactions among foreign churches in England. Next I describe the foreign churches' engagement with Reformed and Calvinist churches on an international level. This final section examines the place of the foreign churches in the Reformed networks in the Low Countries as it considers how closely the foreign churches, as a group, maintained relations with their compatriots on the Continent.

It is common knowledge among scholars of the Dutch Reformation period that from the 1570s onwards Dutch Reformed churches in the Low Countries attempted to form networks of churches that were uniform in terms of liturgy and ecclesiastical practices. Not all the foreign churches, however, supported these endeavours. For example, efforts to establish Classes came late and were not very successful. The churches only reluctantly held colloquia and, in this respect, they did not set an example to the Reformed churches in the Low Countries in the 1570s. The foreign churches therefore lacked an institutional platform from which they could launch actions in the Low Countries, even though Reformers in the Low Countries made some attempts to form a unified network of churches. Despite the cooperation between the churches in regulating their members' lives, the individual churches retained their autonomy, and friction between consistories or individual ministers was not uncommon. The churches were therefore preoccupied with establishing and maintaining their own communities in exile, preferring to watch events in the Low Countries unfold from the side-line as it were.

1 The Strangers in London

In 1550 John à Lasco fashioned the foreign Reformed congregations in London so that these came to form a single Strangers' Church, united under his own supervision and worshipping in the same building, while congregations and ceremonies were held separately. The founding charter which he received from Edward VI also depicts the strangers as one group when Edward VI through the charter promised a church in London for the congregation of 'Germans and other foreigners'.[4] According to the charter, one superintendent and four ministers governed the congregation and formed one single corporate and political

4 Archivum, 3.1, pp. 4–7.

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body.[5] This means that we can properly speak of a Strangers' Church under the reign of Edward VI, rather than stranger churches, or the more grammatically correct strangers' churches.[6]

During the Elizabethan period, however, à Lasco could no longer represent the connecting figure that bound both churches together, since he had died in Poland in 1560. The Bishop of London now solely supervised the stranger churches. Their superintendent was thus an external English cleric. The churches consulted their superintendent together or separately when troubles arose within the communities. While the Dutch Church maintained à Lasco's church discipline, the French Church adopted its own church orders which Nicholas des Gallars introduced during his time as its minister. The French Church chose a church discipline which drew more closely on the Genevan model than did the Dutch Church. The institutional and constitutional unity that had existed under à Lasco therefore ceased.

Although the stranger churches formed two separate institutions, they worked out a system of mutual support through regular meetings called the 'Coetus'. The Coetus was not a London invention; it was akin to Classis meetings in the Low Countries and à Lasco had first instituted Coetus meetings in 1544 in order to unite the East Frisian churches.[7] The Elizabethan stranger churches decided to adopt the Coetus meeting from the Strangers' Church. As migrant communities, the churches had to deal with common problems and concerns, which they would address in these meetings. The Italian Church joined the Coetus meetings from 1569 onwards. Initially the Coetus meetings took place monthly. The Coetus was originally a meeting in which deputies of the churches discussed concerns of common importance. The editors of the Coetus records Owe Boersma and Auke Jelsma explained that after the Elizabethan resettlement the Coetus became a "collegial consultant body of the Dutch and French churches in London" with only a few consistory members. They believed that Nicholas des Gallars was the principal advocate of the Coetus. This was why the Coetus did not continue to meet after des Gallars left

5 Ibid.

6 Special thanks go to George English who questioned me about the use of the name stranger churches and why historians tend to prefer this name rather than the grammatically correct Strangers' Churches.

7 Timothy G. Fehler, *Poor Relief and Protestantism: The Evolution of Social Welfare in Sixteenth-Century Emden* (Aldershot, 1999), p. 87; Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992), p. 33, referring to E. Kochs, *Vier Jahrhunderte Coetus der reformierten Prediger Ostfrieslands* (typescript 1943; photo. repr. 1973); Judith Becker, *Gemeindeordnung und Kirchenzucht: Johannes a Lascos Kirchenordnung für London (1555) und die reformierte Konfessionsbildung* (Brill, 2007), p. 25.

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London in 1563.[8] While des Gallars' departure was one factor for the halt of the Coetus meetings, the other one was probably the strain of the constant conflict on the functioning of the Dutch Church in the 1560s.

The stranger churches reestablished the Coetus in 1569, when the Dutch ministers suggested a new structure for it.[9] The reinstated Coetus was supposed to gather monthly.[10] The Coetus now derived its authority from its handling of appeals from church members against their own consistory, although the ultimate decision lay with the superintendent.[11] Jelsma and Boersma ascribed a certain degree of authority to the Coetus as an organising body. The Privy Council, Bishop Edmund Grindal, and William of Orange addressed letters to the Coetus and the Coetus organized collections on behalf of Orange.[12] Yet this observation does not diminish the individual churches' autonomy; both bodies also received direct letters from the same persons.

The discontinuity of the Coetus in the 1560s demonstrates the instability of the communities in that decade. The Dutch Church suffered from quarrels over and with their minister Adriaan van Haemstede as early as 1560. This eventually led to van Haemstede's excommunication, as well as that of a few of his supporters. The churches deliberated together about the actions to undertake against van Haemstede and about the best way to communicate the incident to other churches.[13] By 1564 another, though not unrelated, thunderstorm hung over the Dutch Church, namely a quarrel over godparents, which divided the Dutch Church to such an extent that it could not operate for several months. The presence of godparents at baptism caused disputes within the Dutch Church and divided a large part of the deacons from the minister and elders, the latter being in favour of godparents. All continental Reformed communities and the English ones used the practice, unlike the Reformers in the Low Countries.[14] Despite this, the deacons considered it a Catholic, popish, ceremony.[15] It is likely that competing ecclesiological visions for the church underpinned the recurrence of troubles in the Dutch Church in the 1560s, as Judith Becker has shown. While the deacons seemed to have striven

8 Unity in Multiformity, pp. 11–19.
9 Ibid., pp. 11–14.
10 Ibid., pp. 14–15.
11 Ibid., p. 12.
12 Ibid., p. 17.
13 Actes du Consistoire 1, pp. 17–18.
14 Ibid., p. xxviii. See also Owe Boersma, "Vluchtig voorbeeld: De Nederlandse, Franse en Italiaanse vluchtelingenkerken in Londen, 1568–1585" (PhD diss., Theologische Academie Kampen, 1994), p. 102.
15 Johannes Engelram, *Uutsprake van der kercken of ghemeynte Godes: welcke, wat ende hoedanich sy sy* ([?], 1567), chapter 9.

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for a congregationally focused church as set out in à Lasco's church ordinances, the minister and consistory attempted to establish their power by steering the church towards a Presbyterian model in which elders and minister hierarchically dominated the church.[16] The deacons complained about being forced to accept the use of godparents, something which the elders denied.[17]

It is, therefore, not surprising that this major dispute over godparents in the early history of the Dutch Church was more severe and longstanding than any of the troubles in the French Church. At the start of the dispute over the godparents in 1564, the Dutch Church asked the French Church for help regarding a disagreement between the elders and the deacons, but the French Church's minister, Jean Cousin, initially told them to consult Edmund Grindal instead. Later the consistory felt obliged to intervene.[18] The French Church had a reason for doing so. Although the Dutch Church had officially asked Grindal for help, not everyone within the Dutch consistory agreed with this intervention. Elders from Sandwich spoke to the French consistory in the name of some members of the Dutch Church declaring that they would rather resolve things without the help of the bishop but with the support of the French.[19] In 1565, however, the French Church was again involved in solving a dispute in the Dutch Church. This time there was a debate about the account books and the deacons of the Dutch Church. The French Church examined the account books and eventually lent money to the Dutch Church, showing considerable cooperation and trust on this particular occasion.[20]

Even though Dutch consistory members as well as elders from Sandwich had asked the French Church to intervene in smaller disputes within the larger set of disagreements surrounding the question concerning the godparents, the French were careful to stay aloof if possible. The problem with the Dutch deacons was probably an extension of the godparents question, which also started to find its way to the French Church when a married couple reportedly argued over the issue and the consistory silenced them.[21] The French consistory decided not to engage deeply with the Dutch Church's problems out of fear of bringing division on the question over their own church and to break

16 Judith Becker, "Ecclesiology in the Dutch Church of London: Conflicts between Competing Church Models during the 1560s", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland* XXVIII:5 (2007), 684–94.

17 Engelram, *Uutsprake*, chapter 9.

18 Actes du Consistoire I, pp. 72–74.

19 Ibid., pp. xxviii, 73.

20 Ibid., pp. xxix, 112.

21 Ibid., p. 117.

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its peace.[22] In other words, the church prioritized its own community. At the same time questions about the arrangement of elections arose in the French Church. The consistory believed that this pressure had arisen from the troubles in the Dutch congregation which, it felt, had seduced an outspoken member into favouring reelections without giving the idea much consideration.[23] The question of whether elections were necessary or not was only resolved through communication about the issue with des Gallars, who had left London in 1563.[24]

Both the French and Dutch congregations still had to find their feet in the early 1560s and incidental arguments divided the communities. In 1560 Pierre Alexandre, who also held a prebend in Canterbury and was a Rector of All-Hallows, preached to a French congregation in London and felt entitled to take a prominent place in the newborn French Church.[25] When an organized French Church was established in 1560 its consistory members enquired with Calvin for a Genevan minister.[26] Calvin sent des Gallars to London. Alexandre saw des Gallars as a rival and both found the support from differing parts of the congregation. This caused tensions within the community. When the congregation decided to hold elections in 1561, Alexandre was not happy with the result and proclaimed his disdain publicly.[27] In this case the conciliatory function of Grindal was essential. Grindal frequently acted as an intermediary between both parties, at which the Dutch Church was often present.[28] Yet the Dutch Church did not record any of these reconciliatory meetings.[29] The argument affected the French Church to such an extent that it could not keep consistory records for several months in 1561, and this rivalry was probably one of the reasons why des Gallars left London in 1563. Although both churches showed fraternity towards each other, difficulties within both churches regularly hindered their cooperation. The consistory of the French Church realised the instability of the church and showed an obsession with preventing what they called "the ruining of the church", perhaps fearing it would become ungovernable or that

22 Ibid., p. 60.
23 Ibid., p. 114.
24 Ibid., pp. xxix–xxx.
25 Ibid., p. xv.
26 Ibid., p. xv.
27 Ibid., p. 48.
28 Patrick Collinson, "Calvinism with an Anglican Face: The Stranger Churches of Early Elizabethan London and their Superintendent", in his *Godly People, Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), 213–44 (p. 225).
29 The Dutch consistory records only mentioned the case when Pierre Alexandre publicly complained about the new election before the French congregation just before des Gallars left for the colloquium of Poissy in 1561. Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 234.

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they would fall out of grace with the English.[30] The churches in the 1560s were thus relatively unstable and even, at times, on the brink of collapse.

This instability during the 1560s was also visible in their membership. Many of the internal quarrels led to some people leaving the churches. Some went back to their country of origin, others moved to the northern Netherlands. Still others joined exile communities outside London, a local English church, or another stranger church.[31] Church members who were at loggerheads with their consistory might sometimes join or attend services in another London stranger church, especially when their spouse was a member of one of the other churches. Even as early as 1560 strangers, such as supporters of van Haemstede, left the French and Dutch churches in London in order to join the new Spanish Church.[32] Their application for membership at other churches was not always successful since these required them to provide a good testimony from their previous church. The mobility of their members provided the churches with means to gather information concerning newcomers.[33]

The *Act of Uniformity* of 1558 ruled that everyone should join their local parish church, yet Protestant foreigners had held the privilege of establishing their own churches and expected to renew this privilege. Joining a local English parish church rather than another foreign church seemed to be an appealing option for many of the refugees. Migrants could do so for reasons such as integration, commerce, a dispute with a foreign church, or to avoid paying for poor relief in both their own parishes and in the stranger churches at times.[34] The local churches themselves seemed keen on attracting members. The Dean of Westminster reprimanded two members of the French Church in 1564 for not attending their local English church.[35] Similarly a native of Lille, who lived in Norwich before an exile church was established there, asked the French Church in London in 1561 for instructions on how to deal with the English Church in Norwich, which demanded that he joined a local parish church.[36] To eliminate conflict, Grindal issued a letter in 1565 to the clergy in his diocese, after consultation with Cousin, stating that none of the refugees should be received

30 Actes du Consistoire 1, pp. 47, 49, 60.

31 Some returned to France. See Actes du Consistoire 1, pp. xxiv–xxv, for instance.

32 Ibid., p, 35.

33 The French Church often decided not to accept members of the Dutch Church, yet they made a few exceptions. Actes du Consistoire 1, p. xxix.

34 Andrew Spicer, "'Of no church': Immigrants, liefhebbers and Confessional Diversity in Elizabethan London, c. 1568–1581", in *Forgetting Faith? Negotiating Confessional Conflict in Early Modern Europe*, eds. I. Karremann, C. Zwierlein and I.M. Groote (Berlin, 2012), pp. 199–220 (p. 208).

35 Actes du Consistoire 1, p. 108.

36 Ibid., p. 38.

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in their parishes.[37] Grindal allowed English brethren in the stranger churches but only with moderation. Queen Elizabeth, however, would regularly prohibit this.[38] Yet, some people did attend the sermons without becoming members; these included both Englishmen and, as Spicer has shown, foreigners who did not want to commit.[39] Both the church attendance of these foreigners who did not want to commit and the practice of attending parish churches demonstrate the limits of confessionalization and religious zealousness in the foreign communities.

Occasionally, foreigners also had the chance to join another stranger church in London. The Italian Church, formed between 1565 and 1568, consisted for a large part of Flemish and English members, as the Italians formed a minority group in their own church.[40] The first known consistory members of the Italian Church in 1568 were Dutch refugees. An Italian minister and three elders further completed the Italian consistory.[41] The members of the church formed an eclectic group and in 1567 became engaged in a conflict around the theological beliefs of Antonio del Corro, a Spanish preacher and member of the Italian Church. Since del Corro was a contested figure in the religious landscape of London, the other stranger churches were suspicious of him and did not consider the Italian Church an equal partner until 1569, when it joined the Coetus.[42] Del Corro held strong links with the Reformed community in Antwerp as he had previously served a Spanish congregation there. He preached before a Spanish and Dutch audience in London and might have attracted new Dutch migrants who were uneasy about the Dutch Church's stance against resistance.[43] Dutch and other members of the Italian Church might have also chosen this church for the trade networks among its members, considering the Dutch Church only as a second option. In May 1571, four Dutch members of the Italian Church – Lieven de Brune, Nicolas Everaert, Mr. Jan de Hane, and Guillame Migoen – requested from the Dutch consistory permission to join their Lord's Supper. Their own consistory did not allow them to join the one in their own congregation for refusing to sign the confession of faith used by the French churches.[44] Similarly, in 1583 Joos Mijkints wanted to join the Dutch Church, though the consistory initially refused this request because

37 Ibid., p. 97.
38 Ibid., p. xxvii; Archivum, 2, Letter 127, pp. 456–60.
39 Spicer, "'Of no church'", p. 208.
40 Unity in Multiformity, pp. 25–26.
41 Ibid., p. 31.
42 Ibid., pp. 24, 34.
43 Ibid.
44 Acta, p. 199.

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he had been a member of the Italian Church and did not bring a testimony of good behaviour from them.[45] Dissenting members could also attend yet another church which made a fleeting appearance, namely the Spanish Church, to escape their own consistory. This church, which started meeting in a private house in 1559 and existed for only a few years, had attracted members of the Dutch congregation.[46]

Much dissension in the churches, and especially in the Dutch Church, arose from their strict surveillance over the discipline of the members, as well as from struggles over authority within the church. In the case of the minister Godfried van Winghen there were clashes between himself and the members of the Dutch Church over the issue of the godparents and the legitimacy of armed resistance in the Low Countries in the 1560s. In a sermon to the Dutch congregation in 1564 James Calfhill, an English clergyman, exhorted the community to show respect for van Winghen, not in regard of his person but of his ministry.[47] These disputes originated only in part from his personality; there were also issues of principle at stake.[48] Some members of the churches had particular objections to the strict discipline exercised within the church; rather than feeling liberated from the constraints of the papal yoke.[49] Differences in opinion about theological toleration and the strictness of discipline could be found within and outside the foreign churches. The Italian Jacob Acontius, whom the Dutch Church excommunicated with the help of Edmund Grindal, the bishop of London, on account of his toleration towards Anabaptism in 1560, bitterly criticized the struggle for authority among Reformed churches.[50] Emmanuel van Meteren, one of the main defenders of Adriaan van Haemstede

45 Ibid., p. 659.

46 Actes du Consistoire 1, p. xx.

47 Actes du Consistoire 1, p. 88. James Calfhill's presence in itself is interesting. He was ordained deacon by Grindal in 1560 and became Oxford Professor of Divinity in 1564. He was rather radical in his thinking about the evolution of the ceremonies in the English Church. His presence shows the interest English clergy took in the stranger churches, and, via them, in the Protestant churches on the Continent.

48 Alexander Schunka, for instance, has ascribed an important role to the ministers in encouraging the group identity and confessionalization of exile communities in the Holy Roman Empire: Alexander Schunka, "Migrationen evangelischer Geistlicher als Motor frühneuzeitlicher Wanderungsbewegungen", in *Konfession, Migration und Elitenbildung. Studien zur Theologenausbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Herman J. Selderhuis and Markus Wriedt (Leiden/Boston, 2007), pp. 1–26.

49 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 297; Acta, pp. 27, 29, 114, 119–20, 140, 146, 175, 232, 371, 405, 529; see also section 3 in chapter 6.

50 In Acontius's *Stratagematum Satanae* (1565). See Auke Jelsma, "Why the Reformation failed", in idem, *Frontiers of the Reformation: Dissidence and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 91–109.

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and Acontius, was also excommunicated in 1561, though he rejoined the church in July 1573.[51]

In the 1570s the Coetus meeting occasionally established closer cooperation between the churches. At one Coetus meeting the three stranger churches even appointed a common lecturer in theology.[52] Yet, by 1572 the Dutch Church seems often to have forgotten that there had been a time when both churches formed part of à Lasco's Strangers' Church, when their charter had granted them the use of the Austin Friars church. When the French chapel in Threadneedle Street became too small to accommodate the entire French congregation in 1572, the French Church thought it necessary to make its claim over the Austin Friars church. But when the French consistory asked the Dutch Church to grant them times when they could put on additional gatherings to accommodate the growing French community, now swollen by increased migration after the St Bartholomew's Day massacre, the Dutch Church was surprisingly uncooperative. It even went as far as to declare that the French Church did not have any rights to the church of Austin Friars. The French Church insisted that it had the right to use the location based on the charter from Edward VI. While the Strangers' Church had welcomed both language groups to its location at the St Anthony hospital on Threadneedle Street, the congregations were divided over two locations at the start of the Elizabethan period. The French Church claimed it still held the right to assemble in the Austin Friars church and this quarrel caused tensions between the churches.[53] The Dutch Church occasionally allowed the French Church in 1573 to preach in the Austin Friars church, but the communities had further disagreements about this location in 1579.[54]

2 All Foreign Churches in England

The French Church described collectively all the foreign churches in London and England as "églises estrangères".[55] They were all stranger churches. While provincial foreign churches had existed in Canterbury and Glastonbury during Edward's reign, there were congregations in the Elizabethan period in Sandwich, Colchester, Norwich, Southampton, Great Yarmouth, Ipswich,

51 Acta, p. 330. See Pettegree, pp. 172–73 for the broader story of the conflicts.

52 Actes du Consistoire II, p. 101.

53 Actes du Consistoire II, pp. vii, 93, 108.

54 Acta, p. 537; Library of the French Protestant Church of London, Ms. 3 *Registre des Actes du Consistoire, 1578–1589*, p. 81.

55 For examples see, for instance, Actes du Consistoire I, pp. 28, 79.

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King's Lynn, Maidstone, Rye, Winchelsea, Stamford, Canterbury, Thetford, Dover, York, Bristol, Stamford, Coventry, and Halstead.[56] On the Channel Islands too, there were Calvinist churches, but they remained largely separate from the foreign churches since these churches sprung from local efforts to Reform the religious practices of the islands, with the approval of the Privy Council. Their proximity to France, the French language, and some of its inhabitants' Marian exile in Geneva made them receptive to French Calvinistic influences after Elizabeth's religious settlement, rather than to English religious reforms. As such, they maintained a Presbyterian character and received French refugees.[57] Some of its members entertained connections with the Walloon Church in Southampton and the French Church in London.[58]

On the English mainland, many churches called themselves Walloon or Flemish. Most congregations held connections with particular areas in the Low Countries or France since a majority or at least a large part of their members originated from that area.[59] In Southampton, for instance, over one third of the congregation originated from Valenciennes.[60] In Sandwich, by contrast, the community had mostly come over from West-Flanders.[61] Apart from London, immigrant settlements in certain English towns identified with specific places in the Low Countries and France.[62] The provincial Dutch-speaking exile settlements in England saw themselves as Flemish. It is curious that the Dutch Church in London did not usually adopt this adjective. The geographical origin of most of their members probably lay in Flanders and Brabant, yet the church seemed to be slightly reluctant to call itself Flemish as it more frequently referred to itself as the London Belgian Church or the London German Church.[63] We do not know why the consistory used these particular allegiances. Did London want to sound inclusive by broadening its name? Did

56 See the introduction to this volume for a list of secondary literature on these communities.

57 Actes du Consistoire 1, pp. 37, 45; C.S.L. Davies, "International Politics and the Establishment of Presbyterianism in the Channel Islands: The Coutances Connection", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50:3 (July 1999), 498–522; D.M. Ogier, *Reformation and Society in Guernsey* (Woodbridge, 1996).

58 Ogier, *Reformation and Society in Guernsey*, pp. 81, 173.

59 Spicer, p. 159; Raymond Fagel, "Immigrant Roots: The geographical origins of newcomers from the Low Countries in Tudor England", in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, eds. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton/Portland, 2005), pp. 41–56 (pp. 51–52).

60 Spicer, p. 2.

61 Backhouse, p. 18.

62 Spicer, p. 159; Fagel, "Immigrant Roots", pp. 51–52.

63 This was especially noticeable in the letters in the Archivum and in the signatures to the resolutions of the colloquia.

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they want to avoid xenophobia by not calling themselves Flemish, since many immigrant craftsmen had come from Flanders in the Tudor period? Or was there no particular reason? The usage of names for the London Dutch Church stood in sharp contrast to that of provincial churches, which consistently used the name Flemish Church to describe themselves. Peter Delenus or Deleene, the first scribe of the London Dutch Church's consistory records, clearly emphasized the Flemish origin of the brethren from Sandwich and in a way almost distanced himself and the London Church from the word 'Flemish' in 1561.[64] The curious variation in names indicate a first difference between the London Dutch Church and the provincial churches.

The French church adopted the name French Church to indicate that it was French-speaking. In this way it assembled both native Frenchmen, Walloon, and other French-speaking immigrants from the Low Countries. Most of the native Frenchmen, however, seem to have come from the northern part of France, as we find regular references to these places in the consistory records, but barely any to other parts of France. Many of their migrants were also French-speaking émigrés from Antwerp. Consequently, in the colloquia these churches assembled under the diplomatic name of "the refugee churches of the French tongue in England".[65]

Before 1582, when the French Church sought to have all the French churches in England adopt the same discipline, there was likely variation in ecclesiastical practices, but a lack of source material cuts comparison short for the French provincial churches. It is not known what church discipline the French-speaking Reformed community of Southampton adopted.[66] It is not known what church discipline the Walloon Church at Canterbury used either, but they installed twelve "political men" in 1582 to control the congregation.[67] In this respect they differ from the French Church of London, but this practice reminds us of the London settlement from Edward VI and the practices of Norwich. Williams believed that the congregation of Maidstone tended to model their discipline on that of Sandwich.[68] In Colchester there had been a Flemish community since 1565, but not much is known about their ecclesiastical practices either. Norwich counted two churches, a Flemish and a Walloon

64 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 221.
65 Colloques et Synodes, pp. 1, 2.
66 Spicer, p. 101.
67 CCA, U47/S, p. 49.
68 Lionel Williams, "The Crown and the Provincial Immigrant Communities in Elizabethan England", in *British Government and Administration. Studies presented to S.B. Chrimes*, eds. H. Hearder and H.R. Loyn (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 117–31, 125.

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Church, which were united in one political and corporate body. This political and corporate body is reminiscent of the practices within the Strangers' Church in London. The Strangers' Church had also united both communities in a political and corporate body, a privilege Elizabeth did not renew. Both Norwich congregations used à Lasco's church discipline as their church constitution.[69]

These examples demonstrate the autonomy from each other of the foreign churches. Only from the 1580s onwards did the French churches attempt to unify the French-speaking churches in England through the common adoption of several articles concerning church discipline, among which articles about national meetings.[70] Attempts at unification through the adoption of a common discipline among the French Churches in 1582, when all the French-speaking churches were supposed to be sent the Discipline of the London French Church, have not left visible traces in the sources.[71] Variations in practices remained.[72] The smaller churches did not leave ample records to draw comparisons, but in 1576 a colloquium of Flemish and Dutch churches decided that all churches, with the exception of London, should attempt to use the Heidelberg Catechism.[73]

The foundation of provincial churches, each with their own story, also showed differences. While the London churches counted on Edward VI's charter for the foreigners and a renewal of these privileges for religion's sake, the city councils of provincial congregations often emphasized their hope that these congregations would bring economic benefits to the city. While the London stranger churches cooperated with support from the provincial communities, it was usually the city council, influential citizens, or the strangers in a city or town themselves who addressed petitions to the city council or the Privy Council for privileges to be granted to foreigners. Lionel Williams, in his excellent article on the settlement of the provincial congregations, rightfully pointed out that a tripartite collaboration lay at the basis of the negotiations of provincial settlements. The government, urban authorities, and the migrants negotiated in order to receive privileges. The process took place in three steps: "preliminary discussion about a possible urban settlement; detailed negotiation in which some person of influence often assisted; and final governmental

69 Raingard Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996), p. 54.

70 Ibid., pp. 59, 71; William J.C. Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich. 1565–1832*, The Huguenot Society of London (Lymington, 1888), p. 48. See further down the chapter for more information.

71 Colloques et Synodes, p. 3.

72 Spicer, p. 102.

73 Acten van de Colloquia, p. 22.

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consent to a settlement of precise size."[74] Frequently, the migrants started negotiations with city councils or influential figures, or city councils approached potential immigrants for economic benefits. They subsequently discussed the issue with the Privy Council.[75] One common feature of the settlements was an interest of the local authorities in the economic potential of the immigrants who practised the art of drapery-making and introduced it in many places in England. In contrast with the foundation of the stranger churches in London, the establishment of churches in the provinces heavily depended on the skills of the immigrants, most of them being craftsmen or apprentices in crafts which the city allowed them to perform when in England.

While migrants in London changed churches when they were displeased with their consistories as mentioned, the provincial exile centres also formed a place of refuge for Protestants disagreeing with policies of one or more of the other London churches. Sandwich and Norwich happily received members from the London Dutch Church, especially those who were pro-resistance.[76] Migrants also crossed the linguistic boundaries when joining another church. A member and former elder of the London Dutch Church, Jan Enghelram, who had settled in Canterbury in 1570, attempted to join the Walloon Church there in 1576.[77] The churches present at the Walloon colloquium of 1581 regretted that members who had behaved "scandalously", and even members whom one of the churches had excommunicated, still regularly managed to join other churches.[78]

Although the provincial churches received members from the London congregations who openly or privately disagreed with the churches' policies, there was a degree of cooperation between the congregations through written communication and personal networks. The churches also started meeting in colloquia to discuss common problems. Independent from the foreign churches, the churches on the Channel Islands already exercised this practice and held island colloquia and collective synods from the 1560s onwards.[79] The foreign churches first contemplated the formation of a general meeting, under the name of 'Classis', for all the churches according to language community in 1571 after the Reformed churches in the Low Countries had adopted this practice

74 Williams, "The crown and the provincial immigrant communities", p. 121.
75 Ibid., pp. 121–22.
76 See chapter 4. In 1571, for instance, a dominant section of the Norwich Flemish Church was pro-resistance and welcomed members from London, Actes du Consistoire II, p. 14.
77 See chapter 5, pp. 163-67.
78 Colloques et Synodes, p. 1.
79 Ogier, *Reformation and Society in Guernsey*, pp. 94–95.

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at the general Synod of Emden.[80] The synods in the Low Countries insisted upon the formation of Classes among the foreign churches in England, as I explain in more detail in the next section of this chapter.[81] Because the foreign churches formed part of the English Church, their respective superintendents did not allow the churches to form Classes to model the Protestant churches in the Low Countries. Despite this, the exile congregations eventually started meeting in their language groups across England a few years later. The Dutch and Flemish churches in England were the first ones to meet in a colloquium in 1575. Initially they met yearly, but a lack of motivation and financial means meant that in 1577 already only four out of eight churches were present at the colloquium, and in the 1580s they gathered periodically instead.[82] In the meeting of 1576 the deputies demonstrated a certain degree of autonomy by stating that the representative congregations did not have an obligation to follow strictly all the resolutions made in the colloquia, if they had a good reason not to.[83]

The French churches in England first met in a colloquium only in 1581 and were supposed to assemble yearly, although the frequency diminished after 1590.[84] The French-speaking churches held similar views to the Dutch on the adoption of resolutions in their 1582 colloquium.[85] The records of their colloquia clearly demonstrate that although the churches worked towards unity, via for instance a common discipline, the churches were often free not to implement the resolutions commonly made.[86] It is not clear why the French churches only started gathering in a colloquium from 1581 onwards, but the Dutch colloquium of 1575 specified that they had not invited the Walloon churches to the colloquium because the Synod had not specifically asked for their presence.[87] The French churches showed considerable awareness of their duty of obedience towards the English authorities.

The function of the colloquia was to discuss questions which the individual consistories could not solve, and like the Coetus, to receive complaints from members. After the first few years, the main issues which returned yearly were

80 Spicer, pp. 102–3.

81 According to Charles G.D. Littleton, "The Strangers, their Churches and the Continent: Continuing and Changing Connexions", in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, eds. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton/Portland, 2005), pp. 177–91 (pp. 184–85).

82 Acten van de Colloquia, pp. 32–33.

83 Ibid., p. 14.

84 Ibid.

85 Colloques et Synodes, p. 3.

86 See for instance Ibid., p. 7.

87 Acten van de Colloquia, p. 4; Littleton, 'The Strangers', p. 185.

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the poverty of the churches and calls for financial support and ministers. These financial and governmental difficulties were one of the motivations behind the organization of the colloquia, in addition to the provision of help for the Low Countries. The colloquia could facilitate the maintenance and support for churches that were struggling to find adequate means and ministers for their congregations, as I show in more detail in chapter 6. This solidarity formed one of the most important aspects of the relations between the churches.

Above all, the Dutch and Flemish churches in England as well as the French churches hoped to bring "unity of thought" and "uniformity" in "church discipline, ceremonial practices and government" through these yearly meetings in order for the churches "to be able to advice and help each other".[88] Yet, in practice some congregations were too poor or unwilling to send out a representative.[89] In 1576 it became clear that the geographical distance between the Dutch communities hindered the working of these annual meetings. The communities resolved to divide the churches into two groups. The communities within each group provided advice to each other by letter. There would be a southern group including London, Sandwich, Dover, and Maidstone, and a northern one encompassing Norwich, Colchester, Yarmouth, and Thetford.[90] At the end of the same colloquium the churches decided that they would next meet when they felt the need to do so, rather than yearly.[91]

The records of the French-speaking colloquia tend to emphasize the unity which they wished to form within England but also with the churches in the Low Countries. To this end throughout the 1580s they tried to adopt one common church discipline, based on the discipline of the French Church in London.[92] The Dutch churches, although following a common discipline mixed with local customs and resolutions from the Dutch synods, only discussed the potential for a common discipline in 1609.[93] The colloquia continued, albeit less regularly, into the seventeenth century but transformed from being a meeting in which members were free to commit themselves to the resolutions to one which bound the churches together more tightly. Only by 1586 did the French churches institute a unified discipline.[94]

88 Acten van de Colloquia, pp. 15–16.
89 Ibid., p. 58. The Flemish Church at Norwich had not changed its mind by the next colloquium, in 1583, nor in 1586. See Ibid., pp. 71, 82.
90 Ibid., p. 20.
91 Ibid., p. 77.
92 Colloques et Synodes, p. 3.
93 Acten van de Colloquia, p. 105.
94 Colloques et Synodes, p. 11.

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This is not to say that the churches were not practising forms of solidarity before they started meeting at the colloquia. The London Dutch Church regularly helped other churches. In early 1570, for instance, the Dutch Church received desperate letters from the congregation of Yarmouth. The city had expelled the congregation, which had five weeks left to depart. The congregation begged the Dutch Church to present a request for intervention to Queen Elizabeth.[95] The provincial churches became more dependent on the London churches for financial aid in the late 1570s and through the colloquia in the 1580s.[96]

The colloquia did bring the churches closer together, but the system still had its difficulties. The meetings had only come into existence in 1575 and 1581. Before this the churches communicated via letter exchanges and enjoyed relative autonomy vis-à-vis each other. This autonomy is also demonstrated in the 1560s when the churches disagreed about resistance in the Low Countries, as I will show in the next chapters. The London churches condemned resistance in the 1560s while the churches in Sandwich and Norwich received hundreds of refugees from the Low Countries who had experienced the persecutions in the Low Countries and were often drawn towards resistance. Throughout the 1560s, however, the London Dutch Church struggled to survive, while from the 1570s onwards many provincial churches relied on London for survival.

3 Stuck between England and the Low Countries

The foreign consistories helped churches in need in the Low Countries by supplying them with ministers and money (see chapter 6) and they took an interest in synods, yet their loyalty to England and English moderation affected their stance towards these synods. The foreign churches cared about the Reformed churches in the Low Countries and communicated their decisions and advice. In 1561, for instance, the London French Church decided to write to the French Church of Emden and other French churches in the Low Countries to explain the reasons for the excommunication of Adriaan van Haemstede.[97] A little later they received a request for advice on a governmental question from Antwerp.[98] The consistories did not just keep in contact with the Reformed communities in the Low Countries for matters of control over their members

95 Acta, p. 37.
96 A view which Spicer seems to support: Spicer, p. 104.
97 Actes, p. 25.
98 Ibid.

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but also financially supported the congregations. When in 1572 collections were made in London for the churches in the Low Countries, both the French and the Dutch Church contributed. Walloon or French Reformed churches, often consisting of migrants and refugees, existed all over Flanders, way beyond the linguistic borders of the French-speaking community. In Antwerp one of the earliest Reformed communities was French-speaking. Protestants also fled France and French-speaking provinces of the Low Countries to settle in the northern Netherlands. In Dordrecht, for instance, there was both a French and a Dutch Reformed community in the 1580s.[99] The Walloon churches partook in both provincial and national synods with the Dutch churches. The French Church sent a minister to serve in Flushing in 1572.[100]

Yet relations between the consistories and their brethren in the Low Countries were not always cordial. Especially the Dutch Church in London, which dared to take a stance against churches in the Low Countries, differed over the issue of resistance in the 1560s. Moreover, the Dutch Church of London experienced tensions in their communication with the Dutch Reformed Church in Antwerp and with anyone in favour of resistance.[101] The London consistories steered away from too much involvement in the Low Countries before 1572. In the 1570s, they distrusted the intentions of William of Orange.[102] We should note, however, that there was also a longing for unification with the churches in the Low Countries among French churches and among Dutch members.[103] However, the London consistories were very much aware of their relationship with the English church.[104] This is visible in the colloquia records and their records of their church meetings. Some groups of Reformers in exile did cooperate with closely local authorities, both secular and ecclesiastic, while others found that more difficult. The stranger churches in England accepted supervision by local bishops and archbishops. In 1571 the

99 For their communication with the Dutch Church which proves their existence see *Uw Rijk Kome. Acta van de Kerkenraad van de Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente te Dordrecht 1573–1579*, ed. Theo W. Jensma (Dordrecht, 1981), pp. 73, 89.

100 Andrew Pettegree, "The Strangers and Their Churches in London, 1550–1580" (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1983), pp. 272–73.

101 See chapter 3, pp. 101, 106, 107.

102 See chapter 5.

103 The members of the Dutch Church, apart from van Winghen, seemed, for instance, very keen on following, discussing and implementing the Synod of Emden in 1571, as discussed on pp. 56–57 above. Similarly, the French Church kept on referring to a 'unity' with the Reformed churches in the Low Countries which they wished to keep up, as discussed on pp. 50–51.

104 Especially visible at the colloquia, see pp. 26, 30, 52–59; Colloques et Synodes, pp. 4, 5.

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Dutch Church's deacon Willem Fogghe asked the consistory to admonish those of the church who spoke disparagingly of the English ministers' bonnets.[105]

Early on, the consistories did contemplate cooperation with and an influence on the Low Countries, as the aforementioned case of the godparents again illustrates. In this case, the elders from Sandwich consulted the French Church, as mentioned before, at a point at which the division within the Dutch Church was so large that the church had asked Edmund Grindal to intervene. The godparents question, along with the issue about resistance, had divided the elders from the deacons. The Sandwich brethren, who presumably sided with the deacons, alerted the French Church that Grindal would only get to hear one side of the story. They warned that if Grindal would force the members to accept godparents, some would leave the Dutch Church to join the Flemish in Sandwich or return to the Low Countries. Similarly, the question could cause ruptures in Sandwich. Moreover, they proclaimed, if the case was not solved soon, the question might also divide churches in the Low Countries and cause a schism between the Reformed churches in England and the Low Countries.[106] The question did not cause any major divisions outside England, yet it is likely that word of the quarrels spread to the Low Countries. This was the case in 1560, when the Dutch Church excommunicated van Haemstede and some brethren from the Low Countries expressed their displeasure over his treatment. These reactions came especially from Antwerp, the main Reformed centre in the Low Countries in the 1550s and 1560s, and the former congregation of van Haemstede where he still had supporters.[107]

By the 1570s the churches in the Low Countries had started negotiating a closer cooperation with the foreign churches in England. A dispute over the formation of Classes in London formed a prominent case in the history of the relations of the foreign churches with the Reformed churches on the Continent. The Synod of Emden in 1571 had adopted the aforementioned practice of using Classes and had asked the foreign churches to institute it as well.[108] A Classis was an institutional structure which would bring together deputies from the exile churches in England. The churches would have to take into account any decisions made at synods in the Low Countries, which had invited them as equal partners. The Classis would then serve as a means of discussing the synodal resolutions per region, in this case the region of England rather than a small province.

105 Acta, pp. 216, no. 741.
106 Actes, pp. 73–74.
107 Archivum, 2, Letter 53, pp. 162–64.
108 Unity in Multiformity, p. 17.

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In 1571 the Coetus discussed letters through which the Reformed churches in the Low Countries invited the stranger churches to attend the Synod of Emden and spread copies of the letters to other foreign churches in England. Despite the Dutch minister Godfried van Winghen's opposition to this decision, the churches initially decided in the Coetus to send a representative to this synod. Van Winghen eventually asserted that they could send representatives if their superintendent agreed on it and if they could get travel permits for the voyage.[109] By February 1572 some members of the Dutch Church, in contrast to van Winghen, were very keen on honouring the conclusion of the synod and rebuked the French Church for not acting quickly enough to bring the churches together to discuss the matter.[110] The day before a general meeting of the migrant churches in the Dutch Church in March 1572 to deliberate on the Classis proposal, the French made the decision to oppose it, but decided that the churches could ask their superintendent the permission to hold annual meetings of stranger communities in England for the sake of unity.[111] The London consistories sent their ministers to ask the Bishop of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dean of Westminster, and the Bishop of Winchester for advice on the matter.[112] The English ecclesiastical authorities did not allow them to adopt any decisions made at foreign synods and therefore also prohibited the formation of a Classis in England. The consistories eventually decided not to go to synods but to attempt to organize local meetings.[113] The participants of the provincial synod of Dordrecht in 1574 discussed a letter from van Winghen which was supportive of the churches in the Low Countries but stated that he did not wish to bind the Reformed churches in England to any decisions made in the synods.[114] The churches witnessed the dilemma of loyalty towards their fatherland or towards their adoptive country.

The question of whether to attend the synods and to adopt the Classis system came at a time in which governmental authorities in England were concerned about Puritanism. Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London between 1570 and 1576, described the state of the English Church as follows in 1573:

109 The exact word used for travel permit is "passeport", in Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 18–19.
110 Ibid., p. 62.
111 Ibid., p. 68.
112 Ibid., pp. 60–61.
113 Ibid., pp. 68–69.
114 *Acta van de Nederlandsche Synoden der zestiende eeuw*, ed. F.L. Rutgers. Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging, 2nd ser., 3 (Utrecht, 1889), pp. 214–16.

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> our church, which is most sadly tossed about in these evil times, and is in a most wretched state of confusion [...] New orators are rising up from among us, foolish young men, who, while they despise authority, and admit of no superior, are seeking the complete overthrow and rooting up of our whole ecclesiastical polity, so piously constituted and confirmed, and established by the entire consent of most excellent men; and are striving to shape out for us I know not what new platforms of a church.[115]

Sandys described a religious and political movement in England that zealously strived to further the reform of the English Church. Members of this movement rhetorically used the privileges the stranger churches had received to further their own agenda for religious reform. In 1572 and 1573 a Puritan faction had tried to pass several bills through Parliament in order to challenge and change the English Church, which culminated in the *Admonition to Parliament*, which I explain in more detail in chapter 6. The influence of the foreign churches on the English Puritan movement was apparent.[116] The issue of permission to build a Classis for the Dutch and French Reformed churches came up at a time when the English Church could not expand the liberties of the foreign churches. By not granting them their wish, the English governmental and church authorities kept the stranger churches within the boundaries of the English Church at a moment in which it was crucial for the strangers to keep in line and to steer away from too much uniformity with continental churches.

Instead of instating the opposed Classis, a few years later the Dutch churches organized the colloquia discussed in the previous section.[117] The colloquia, after their French equivalent called *colloque*, did not differ much from the Classis and their function was fairly similar. At the colloquia, representatives of the Dutch and French churches in England would discuss synodal resolutions, yet they were not obliged to adopt any. A Classis was a regional meeting, and England would also have to be divided in different Classes according to region. The colloquium was different from the Classis in that it also served as a place where members could present complaints about their church consistories, which was not the case in the Classis. Despite this, there was little difference between the colloquia and the Classes, the largest difference being their

115 *The Zurich letters, comprising the correspondence of several English bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian reformers, during the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, eds. John Hunter and Robinson Hastings, The Parker Society (Cambridge, 1842), Letter no. XCIV. 15 August 1573. Edwin Sandys to Henry Bullinger, as printed in Claire Cross, *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church* (London/New York, 1969), pp. 159–61.

116 See Collinson, "Calvinism with an Anglican Face" and chapter 6.

117 See chapter 1.

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names. One writer in the records of the French-speaking colloquia finished the report of the 1584 colloquium by announcing the following colloquium to be held by using the title "Assemblée de la Classe".[118]

While exile churches played a, perhaps overstated, role in the development of unified church networks in the Low Countries via synods, the foreign churches in England had no influence on this development, quite the opposite. The records of the Dutch Church mention that the eventual first colloquium in 1575 was the result of letters from representatives from the churches of the Low Countries who asked for advice.[119] The Dutch churches planned a second colloquium in the year 1575 but emphasized that it would be cancelled if letters from "the churches from over the sea" would deem it unnecessary to meet.[120]

The existence of, and decisions made at, the colloquia demonstrated the foreign churches' attachment to their international contacts, though their loyalty to England impacted their actions. The churches wishing to take on a new minister could pick one according to their own customs, but Dutch churches agreed that ministers had to sign a recognition of the articles of faith from the Low Countries and France in order to take on the function.[121] Moreover, the churches in England trained ministers for the Low Countries. In 1577, for instance, the colloquium again stressed that the churches should send as many members capable of preaching out to other communities in England and, especially, to the Low Countries.[122] The importance of pressure from the Low Countries to hold the colloquia again becomes clear at the Dutch colloquium in 1578 in which the churches decided not to meet early in 1579 but rather to wait until a call for discussion came from the churches in England or from those overseas.[123] The colloquia paid attention to the organization of the churches in the Low Countries.[124] Gradually letters from the Low Countries became points of discussion in the colloquia rather than only in the consistory meetings of individual churches. The Dutch colloquium of 1578 decided to

118 Colloques et Synodes, p. 9.
119 Acten van de Colloquia, pp. 4–5.
120 Ibid., p. 5.
121 Ibid., p. 20.
122 Ibid., p. 35.
123 Acten van de Colloquia, p. 56.
124 A clear illustration of this is the following: "De broederen van Londen hebben gesonden Jacobum Regium, Dienaer des Woordts, ende Jan van Roo, Ouderlinck der Ghemeinte Christi aldaer, om te handelen tot gemeene opbouwinge der kercke Christi hier in desen lande ende ooc over zee." (The brothers of London sent Jacobus Regius, minister, and Jan van Roo, elder of the Christian congregation there to discuss the common formation of the church of Christ in this country and also overseas.). Acten van de Colloquia, p. 33, and a similar statement on p. 38 in 1578.

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send two representatives to the general Synod of Dordrecht, claiming that this was for the good of the fatherland.[125] In 1584 on the other hand the churches resolved not to send anyone to the Synod in Antwerp since they deemed it too dangerous.[126]

The Dutch and Walloon colloquia discussed the decisions of synods in the Low Countries and the choice of representatives of their churches in England to be sent to these meetings.[127] In some years the Dutch colloquia decided to adopt a few of the resolutions made in the synods in the Low Countries. In 1577, for instance, the Dutch colloquium agreed not to let any former Catholic clerics or monks fulfil a ministerial function without extensive examination of their thought and life "in accordance with the acts of other synods of the Reformed churches."[128] They approved the resolutions the synod made as useful for the fatherland, but decided to conform to the authority of their superintendent and the English Church. The churches partook in the Synod of Dordrecht that year and in later synods in the Low Countries in an advisory role in bid to build up the Reformed faith in the Low Countries, rather than form a part of it.[129] Despite the opposition of the Flemish Church of Norwich, the colloquium of 1581 resolved to send representatives to the national Synod of Middelburg.[130] After the synod, the churches gathered in a colloquium meeting again to discuss the resolutions of the synod, but Norwich refused to attend and proclaimed not to care about the proceedings.[131]

In contrast, the churches of the French-speaking colloquium in 1581 were very keen on sending a minister and an elder to the Synod of Middelburg. This was because they needed "a witness of the union which the refugee churches of the French tongue in England wanted to form with the brethren assembled in this synod. And not to subject themselves to what will be decided among them".[132] The French-speaking churches could not submit to the decisions made in the synod for several reasons. First, they were bound to the English Church and their superintendents would not accept them following the resolutions made in the synods too closely. Secondly, they argued, adhering too closely to the churches on the Continent in the adoption of all their practices instead of following some of the English practices such as holidays would create a division between the strangers and the locals in favour of those antagonistic

125 Ibid., p. 48.
126 Ibid., p. 79.
127 For instance, ibid., p. 40; Colloques et Synodes, p. 1.
128 Acten van de Colloquia, p. 19.
129 *Acta van de Nederlandsche Synoden der zestiende eeuw*, pp. 304–6.
130 Acten van de Colloquia, pp. 58–59.
131 Ibid., p. 65.
132 Colloques et Synodes, p. 1.

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towards the strangers and their churches. The French-speaking churches in England had also already established stable church disciplines within their own political and geographical contexts. Moreover, the French-speaking churches consisted of French, as well as Walloon, migrants and resolved to keep a balance between the synods in France and those in the Low Countries.[133] Instead, the churches wished to join the colloquia as a symbol of union and to offer counsel to the churches in the Low Countries.[134] Attendance was in part symbolic, yet this was a symbol which the churches held onto dearly.

4 Conclusion

Despite the existence of extensive communication networks, the correspondence of the foreign churches' consistories with the churches in the Low Countries showed that these churches enjoyed a certain self-assertive autonomy within this network. The Coetus meetings had provided mutual support among the London consistories during the 1560s, but rather than getting organized as a group of churches, each church struggled at different points with internal disputes in an attempt to maintain internal authority. The churches were occupied with establishing themselves and surviving in exile during the 1560s, while by the 1570s most consistories had become more and more aware of the political and religious sensibilities in England. While churches in the Low Countries increasingly attempted to organize their own synodal and Classis meetings from the late 1560s onwards and advised the foreign churches to do the same, the consistories showed hesitation to do so because of their residence in England. By the 1580s they made more attempts towards cooperation. The lack of enthusiasm for Classis meetings and a focus on survival in exile would have made it hard for consistories to actively support the Dutch Revolt, or even to set up organized attacks on prisons or images in the Low Countries, in contrast with the private actions of many of its members, and even consistory members. The foreign churches also struggled to act cohesively in support of the churches in the Low Countries. It was left to the Dutch and Walloon Reformed churches on the Continent to take the lead in blending national and international organizational structures while the colloquia system only took off relatively late in England.

133 In 1584 for instance, the colloquium wanted to deliver the warning that churches on the Continent should not accept brethren coming from England without a good testimony from their previous churches. In order to do so, it requested one representative to deliver the message at a Synod in the Low Countries, and another one for the Synod in France. Ibid., pp. 7–8.

134 Colloques et Synodes, pp. 3–4.

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CHAPTER 3

The Entanglements of Stranger Churches with Growing Resistance in the Low Countries, 1560–1565

On 12 July 1562 two hundred persons gathered in the cemetery of the Flemish village Boeschepe. The crowd attended a public sermon which took place at the same time as the mass. This gathering was a provocative event that shocked civil authorities since some of those present carried weapons.[1] This was the first time that participants brought weapons to a Reformed meeting in the Low Countries in order to protect themselves in case the authorities tried to disperse the meeting by force. Moreover, this was the first provocative event of the kind in what had previously been a quiet neighbourhood. Following the incident, the Ypres city council and regent Margaret of Parma took direct action and attempted to arrest those who attended.[2] The preacher himself, Gheleyn Damman, originated from the area and had been a minister at Hondschoote but had also resided in England, presumably between 1559 and 1562.[3] His presence directly linked the stranger churches to this event and raised the issue of resistance.

In the period under consideration the Reformed movement of the Low Countries rapidly increased in popularity. Despite persecution it found support in every social class. Indeed, the number of Reformed grew so large that city authorities were often reluctant to persecute them. Slowly the audacity of some of the ministers increased. From about 1560, Reformed preaching started to take place in public spaces in the city or the countryside instead of in secret meetings. In the following years armed gatherings became the order of the day. Reformers started committing acts of violence against secular authorities, including breaking into prisons to release Reformed captives. Subsequently, the legitimacy of armed resistance and attacks on officers of the law became controversial subjects within the Reformed movement itself. These issues were

1 Marcel Backhouse, "The Official Start of Armed Resistance in the Low Countries: Boeschepe 12 July 1562", *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte*, 71 (1980), 198–226 (p. 199).

2 *Archives d'Ypres. Documents du XVI^e^ siècle, faisant suite à l'inventaire des chartes*, ed. Isidore L.A. Diegerick, 4 vols (Bruges, 1874–1877), 1 (1874), p. 16; *Inventaire analytique et chronologique des chartres et documents appartenant aux archives de la ville d'Ypres*, ed. Isidore L.A. Diegerick, 7 vols (Bruges, 1853–1868), 6 (1864), pp. 152–54.

3 Backhouse, pp. 141, 146–47; Backhouse, "The Official Start", 203.

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discussed within the Reformed communities, including the exile settlements, throughout the early 1560s. The issue of violence reflected a larger problem within Protestant communities all over Europe: the key issue was whether rulers who opposed the Reformed might legitimately be resisted. Yet, because of the unique political situation in the Low Countries, the controversy there acquired its own special character. The Low Countries at this time consisted of a collection of states ruled as a personal union by an absentee Spanish king. Its cities and nobility had long held their privileges dear.

The resort to violence and provocative acts were ways in which the people could express their frustration about the persecutions and the outlawing of Reformed practices. The consistories of the London stranger churches were aware of the tensions created by the presence of a large group of adherents of the illegal Reformed faith in the Netherlands. Violent behaviour under the guise of religious reforms included prison breaking, armed public preaching, the use and carrying of weapons in defiance of magistrates, as well as aggression towards officers. Public preaching could take place in the city, just outside the city walls, or in the surrounding countryside. Such public manifestations occurred from 1558 onwards, so some years before an outburst of hedge preaching in the year of the iconoclasm, 1566.[4] It is likely that public preaching started to take place because the number of observers attracted to Reformed services increased dramatically.[5] During the first half of the 1560s this practice seems to have grown steadily more popular. Fear of reprisals by civil authorities induced the preachers and listeners to attend such meetings either armed or protected by armed bodyguards from 1562 onwards.

As we can link several such acts of violence in Flanders back to refugees, scholars have been quick to point out intricate connections between the stranger churches and resistance in the Low Countries.[6] Marcel Backhouse, who was a specialist in the history of the Sandwich strangers as well as in the

4 On the term 'hedge preaching' (also written as hedgepreaching or hedge-preaching) see Robert Fruin, "Over het woord haagpreek", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 15 (1896), 308–15. He assumes that Catholics used the word in a derogatory sense. Historians, of whom Phyllis Mack Crew is a good example, tend to use the term alternately with public preaching as well as with the word 'prêche', which was the term Reformed contemporaries used to describe the Reformed preaching in the 1560s. Hedge preaching thus tends to refer specifically to the mass open-air sermons in 1566, while public preaching can refer to any Reformed preaching in the period under consideration.

5 No precise numbers are available, but many sources state that by 1566 people gathered in groups of hundreds or even thousands. Several examples for Antwerp can be found in Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie: Ondergronds Protestantisme in een handelsmetropool, 1550–1577* (Amsterdam/Antwerp, 1996), p. 127.

6 Backhouse, "The Official Start".

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history of the Reformation in the Flemish Westkwartier, demonstrated that very many of the fugitives in this period hailed from this region of Flanders. He showed that the migrants in Sandwich were behind the surges of open resistance against civil authorities in the Netherlands and he believed they used Sandwich as an operational base for the spread of Calvinist propaganda in Flanders.[7] Many other scholars on the Dutch Revolt and Reformation have also emphasized the connections between the exiles and Reformed violence in the Westkwartier.[8] Readers might form the impression that the stranger churches were complicit in the illegal practices of resistance in the Low Countries. However, not everyone supported such activities for they caused uproar within the London Dutch Church where a part of the consistory condemned this resistance. While there is no doubt about the foreign churches' involvement in the organization of resistance at times, as the previous studies prove, this chapter also helps to better understand the lack of sympathy and differences in opinion on the topic of resistance among both the Dutch and Walloon churches. The London consistories held distinctly different opinions on the matter of violence and provocation from the Reformed consistories in Sandwich and Low Countries. The refugees consisted of roughly two groups, one of which supported acts of violence, and the other strongly opposed them; in effect they drew the line between sin and godly zeal differently. This distinction was also evident in the consistories. Scholars are inclined to use the term 'the church' as a *totum pro parte*, or to suppose that all members of the Reformed churches acted uniformly under the direct authority of the church.[9] Consistorial and other church members might have wanted as private persons to deviate from the official church policy.[10] The London Dutch Church consistory as a whole,

7 Ibid., 203.

8 Pettegree, pp. 215–61; Marnef, *Antwerpen*; Johan Decavele, *De Dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520–1565)*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België Jaargang 37, 76, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1975); Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544–1569* (Cambridge, 1978, reissued 2008); Owe Boersma, "Vluchtig voorbeeld: De Nederlandse, Franse en Italiaanse vluchtelingenkerken in Londen, 1568–1585" (PhD diss., Theologische Academie Kampen, 1994); Aart A. van Schelven, "Het begin van het gewapend verzet tegen Spanje in de 16de-eeuwsche Nederlanden", *Handelingen en mededelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, 28 (1914–1915), 126–56; van Schelven.

9 A notable exception to this is Pettegree, who urged readers to differentiate between the consistory and church members. He briefly mentions this distinction in his study "The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar", in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium, Exeter, 30 August–3 September, 1988*, eds. Johannes van den Berg and Paul G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), p. 84, but does not develop it.

10 Backhouse sometimes also distinguished between the acts of individuals and churches. Backhouse, pp. 135–62.

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which Godfried van Winghen and his friends dominated, wrestled severely with the notion of resistance to authority, both ecclesiastically as politically.

1 Dealing with Persecution in the Low Countries

In the early 1560s the Reformed churches' pursuit of freedom of conscience or church reform in the Low Countries was increasingly manifested in violent behaviour on the part of Reformed Protestants, who objected to persecution and the privileged status of the Catholic Church. Protestant Reformers' use of violence in the Low Countries went back to at least the 1530s and 1540s but was never as frequent and offensive as the public preaching and prison breaking of the 1560s. To some extent, the success of the Reformed movement in the Low Countries in the 1560s was down to the slow reactions of the civil and church authorities to the existence and provocations of Protestants.[11] Although each city reacted to the religious question differently, city councils often either supported the movement or did not take prompt action to arrest suspected heretics since Reformers came from every layer of society.[12] In some instances the city authorities refused any cooperation with persecutors.

Such was the case in the Flemish village of Wervik in 1562 when the bailiff Joos De Cat opposed the attempt by the inquisitor and Dean of Ronse Pieter Titelmans to arrest five citizens.[13] De Cat himself entertained Reformed ideas.[14] His daughter had been executed at Antwerp in 1556 on the charge of Calvinist heresy.[15] Yet, as the bailiff of Oosthove, representing a legal institution, he opposed the authority of the dean Pieter Titelmans, so different judicial levels of persecution occasionally clashed over authority.[16] Another example of this power vacuum was the capture of Levinus Pontanus in 1558. Pontanus was an adherent of the Reformed faith who was born at Ghent and caught in the same

11 See Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (Oxford, 2011), especially chapters 2 and 3.

12 A topic well covered by Crew, *Calvinist Preaching*, pp. 133, 151.

13 John Desreumaux, "Wervikse Geuzen en Hervormden 1544–1576", *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Stedelijke Oudheidkundige Commissie Wervik*, 4 (1985), 3–51 (pp. 22–24).

14 Ibid.

15 "Personen te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw voor het 'feit van religie' gerechtelijk vervolgd (vervolg). (1559–1567): Lijst en ambachtelijke bijhoorige stukken", ed. by Pieter Génard, *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 9, pp. 1–383 (p. 3).

16 Desreumaux, "Wervikse Geuzen", pp. 22–25; Gert Gielis & Violet Soen, "The Inquisitorial Office in the Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Low Countries: A Dynamic Perspective", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 66:1 (2015), 47–66 (pp. 59–62); Aline Goosens, *Les Inquisitions Modernes Dans Les Pays-Bas Meridionaux, 1520–1633, Tome 1: La Legislation* (Brussels, 1997), pp. 145–57.

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city.[17] Arnoldus Piscator, a Reformer from the Groninger town of Loppersum in the Netherlands, wrote to Jan Utenhove around the time that Titelmans had imprisoned Pontanus. Piscator asserted the possibility that Pontanus would be released on account of a letter to Titelmans from a landgrave, presumably the German Protestant Philip of Hessen.[18] It is not clear whether the prisoner was released, but the case once again illustrates the political limitations and doubt cast over Titelmans' authority early on. When religious violence became more provocative from 1562 onwards, city authorities could no longer turn a blind eye.

Prison breaking occurred before the restoration of the stranger churches at the start of Elizabeth I's reign. Antwerp's court records include several cases of prisons being broken into before 1560 as well as regular image breaking.[19] In January 1562 Margaret of Parma ordered people to be on the alert for the many vagabonds in the country, among whom she counted those from sects who were preaching and singing psalms. In her instruction, she made a link between Protestant movements and sedition and uproar, claiming that many such people had broken open prisons and robbed convents and churches in the countryside.[20] The Reformed churches found themselves compelled to reconsider their attitudes and that of their members towards civil authorities and worldly politics as heightened persecutions brought the frequent occurrence of prison breaking and iconoclasm. The relationship between politics and religion was a thorny one for the Reformers. The ministers of the London Dutch Church preferred to deal with spiritual matters only, yet the Reformers generally required princely recognition to be able to function legally and openly.[21]

17 Not much is known about Levinus Pontanus. His Flemish name is unknown, yet if we translate this Latinised version, the result might well be Lieven Verbruggen, Lieven Dupond, Lieven Bruggeman.

18 Arnoldus Piscator, presumably the Latin name for Arnoud De Visscher, was a Reformer living in the very north of the Netherlands. He seems well-connected to other Reformers as he pursued a correspondence with Jan Utenhove. Utenhove lived in Poland when the letter reached him. On Utenhove see Frederik Pijper, *Jan Utenhove: Zijn leven en zijne werken* (Leiden, 1883). For this particular letter see LMA. CLC/180/MS07428/001 Letter 24 or Archivum, 2, Letter 24, pp. 79–80.

19 "Personen te Antwerpen", 9, pp. 16–17, en 8, p. 356.

20 Ibid., 9, pp. 124–28.

21 Auke Jelsma, "The 'Weakness of Conscience' in the Reformed movement in the Netherlands: The attitude of the Dutch Reformation to the use of violence between 1562 and 1574", in *The Church and War. Papers read at the twenty-first summer meeting and the twenty-second winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. William J. Sheils (Oxford, 1983), pp. 217–29 (pp. 221, 229).

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Even before the period under consideration, throughout the time of Edward VI and the Emden period, the consistory recognized that the hostile attitude of the government was problematic. The *Korte Ondersoeckinghe*, or short examination, which was published in Emden in 1559 and which was intended for those wanting to be admitted to the Dutch community form the time of Edward VI, bluntly stated that the government had the right and duty to kill "bad" people righteously, since it was serving God.[22] Yet in the preface of the *Catechismus*, or *Kinderleere*, a catechism for young members printed in Emden in the previous year, along with an earlier version used in Edward VI's London, Jan Utenhove and Martin Micronius sharply condemned the behaviour of the government.[23] The apparent sincerity of their ministers as opposed to the cowardice of the secular authorities was a selling point for the Reformed churches. Here Utenhove claimed that a bad government was a punishment from God for the sins of a country.[24] The Catechism itself states that individuals should reject revenge, pray for their enemies, and wait until God judges and punishes.[25] In this respect, only the government could punish injustice, even though, as the Catechism recognized, the government often killed unjustly itself.[26] If the churches did not directly promote active resistance and even counselled obedience, their writings helped to foster an anxious and ambivalent climate.

Oettinger pointed out that the singing of Lutheran psalms in the Holy Roman Empire provoked an "us versus them" feeling. This is also evident in the writings of Utenhove as he juxtaposed the righteousness of the Reformed ministers against that of the government.[27] Utenhove accused the government, albeit elected through the will of God, of being responsible for the growth of heretical sects in the Low Countries by prohibiting the 'true' religion. He argued that they had let simple people who hated the Roman Catholic Church fall into the hands of sects. Moreover, he claimed that when these people joined the sects, they even rejected the goods things within the Roman

22 Johannes à Lasco, Gualterus Delenus, and Martin Micronius, *Een korte ondersoeckinghe des geloofs, ouer de ghene die haer tot de Duydtsche Ghemeynte: die te Londen was, begeuen wooden. Uutghestelt door de Dienaers der selver* ([Emden?], 1559), fol. G.

23 Jan Utenhove, Martin Micronius, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere, diemen te Londen, in den Duydtsche Ghemeynte was ghebruykende* (Emden, 1558), fol. 3–12. I will say more about this catechism in the next chapter.

24 Ibid., fol. 4.

25 Ibid., fol. 33.

26 Ibid., fols 33–34.

27 Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 204–9.

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Catholic Church.[28] Utenhove believed that Reformed thought was not heretical but scholarly and necessary, contrary to the beliefs of these 'sects'.[29] As the first draft of this text was written during the reign of Edward VI and reprinted several times, Utenhove also wrote this in an attempt to please and show his loyalty to Edward VI, whom he heavily praised in this text.[30] Their presence in England, he argued, proved God's goodwill towards them.[31]

The fact that the Reformed churches themselves rebelled against authorities as they secretly gathered was no indication of any wish to revolt openly against the blood edict or more specifically against Philip II. The Reformed Christians then still hoped and indeed expected Philip II of Spain to proclaim freedom of conscience for the Netherlands. The renowned Reformer Peter Martyr Vermigli noted in 1559 that he expected Philip II to become more lenient towards Reformers and to halt persecutions. Martyr noted that Philip feared an uprising in Spain. The Gospel was, according to him, making progress in the Low Countries as well as in Spain, before the Elizabethan resettlement of the stranger churches.[32] In the same year van Haemstede devoted a large part of the introduction to his Reformed martyrology to the magistrates and princes in the Low Countries, as well as to Philip II in particular. He wished that they would understand "the battle with the devil" in which they played a large part and he hoped that they would choose the right side.[33] In their gatherings in the area of Boeschepe in 1563, Reformers similarly prayed that God would convert princes from shedding the blood of innocent Protestants.[34]

Although the Dutch Revolt was a political operation from the moment William of Orange defied Alba's authority and the nobles and cities felt threatened by Philip's centralizing and autocratic policies, the Reformed movement provoked long before 1566 a revolutionary spirit exploiting the sentiments and discontent of people throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. Even though the movement attracted people from every layer of society, it also helped encourage a popular revolt. The populistic rhetoric which Reformers

28 Utenhove, Micronius, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere*, fol. 9–10.

29 Ibid., fol. 10.

30 Ibid., fol. 6.

31 Ibid., fol. 9.

32 Archivum, 2, Letter 35, pp. 107–9.

33 Adrianus Haemstedius, *De Gheschiedenisse ende den doodt der vromer martelaren, die om het ghetuyghenisse des Evangeliums haer bloed't gestort hebben, van den tijden Christi af, totten Jar M.D. Six. toe, etc.* ([Emden?], 1559), pp. i–ix.

34 *Documents inédits concernant la réforme à Ypres, Volume 2: Mémoire justificatif du magistrat d'Ypres sur les troubles religieux, arrives en cette ville, en 1566 & 1567, avec pièces à l'appui; suivi de documents inédits concernant la réforme à Ypres*, ed. Isidore L.A. Diegerick (Brugge, 1875), pp. 197–98 (Ypres 19 February 1562/3).

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deployed in order to gain a large base of support is evident on several occasions in van Haemstede's martyrology.[35] Van Haemstede frequently spoke of "the people" and "the common people" when describing the duties of Philip, magistrates, and princes in the Low Countries. He supposed that Philip had forsaken and oppressed the right religion out of ignorance, like biblical kings had done before him.[36] Van Haemstede was himself a controversial figure among the Reformed Protestants. In 1558 he had drawn attention to himself by daring to preach in public in a market square in Antwerp while a Catholic procession was passing.[37] As mentioned in previous chapters, he would become the first Dutch preacher in London after the accession of Elizabeth, but superintendent Edmund Grindal excommunicated him late 1560 for alleged sympathies towards Anabaptists and causing division in the London Dutch Church.[38]

Aside from theological differences, there are several socio-political reasons why influential members of the London consistory did not want any association with Anabaptism.[39] First, this could have compromised their efforts to gain secular recognition and authority. Secondly, Edward VI initially based the settlements of the churches on the supposition that the presence of a Reformed church would eliminate sects and conspiracies among immigrants and London's population.[40] Finally, churches did not strive to be tolerant of other religious denominations but rather to purify their own churches and society from unorthodox religious views.[41] Yet van Haemstede's excommunication might have also been due to a clash of personalities between him and some influential consistory members.[42] Whatever was the case, van Haemstede returned to the Low Countries, persecuted and unwanted.

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35 Haemstedius, *De Gheschiedenisse*, pp. i–ix. For an account of the Protestant movement as a popular movement see Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 6, 7; he talks about the process of identification through the formation of a religious community and through the creation of new, common enemies.

36 Haemstedius, *De Gheschiedenisse*, pp. ii–iv.

37 Marnef, *Antwerpen*, pp. 101–2, 122–23.

38 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 72.

39 Ibid., p. 7.

40 *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, ed. Wilbur K. Jordan (New York, 1966), p. 37, referenced by Andrew Pettegree, p. 44.

41 See Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge MA/London, 2007).

42 The consistory acts mention an accusation against a member, Antonius Assch, for being hostile to van Haemstede. A church member described how Assch, when he lived in Emden before his move to London, had proclaimed that "when he would arrive in England, van Haemstede would not preach for much longer". This indicates the potential presence of pre-existing prejudice towards the controversial minister among some consistory members. Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 136.

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The London Dutch Church's letter collection and the consistory records of the Dutch and French churches show that the consistories were well aware of what was going on in the Low Countries. The French minister Jean Cousin read out letters publicly once a week, a summary of which scribe Anthoine Du Ponchel subsequently wrote down in the consistory records.[43] The letters included regular references to the persecution of religious dissenters, and very many identified Pieter Titelmans as the inquisitor. These letters do not reveal the viewpoint of the churches on the persecution, as only the incoming letters spoke about executions and arrests. However, from the consistory records it is clear that the churches were well-informed on the imprisonment of Reformed members.

In the period under consideration in this chapter the dissenters were mainly persecuted from three sides, according to Aline Goosens, who specifies these levels as "les inquisiteurs et leurs sous-delegués, les évêques et les officialités, et les officiers civils de justices".[44] Gert Gielis and Violet Soen, on the other hand, believe that there were four levels of repression of religious dissent, but, in agreement with Alastair Duke, they would only use the term "Inquisition" for the inquisitors-general and sub-inquisitors.[45] The civil courts nonetheless handled the majority of cases related to heresy jurisdiction.[46] The ruler of the Low Countries appointed the inquisitors-general, while the pope confirmed their mandate; nonetheless, other jurisdictions often challenged their authority.[47] One of the most prominent inquisitors was the aforementioned Pieter Titelmans. This dean pursued heretics in his capacity as inquisitor of Flanders, judging their dissenting religious views and behaviour. He regularly clashed with the local authorities anxious to retain their autonomy.[48] Once the prisoner had been convicted of heresy, the inquisitor transferred him or her to the civil authorities who then handled the legal consequences of lèse-majesté or transgression of the edicts against heresy, and their subsequent

43 Actes du Consistoire 1, p. xxxiv.

44 Goosens, *Les Inquisitions Modernes, Tome 1: La Legislation*, p. 146.

45 Alastair Duke, "The 'Inquisition' and the repression of religious dissent in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1521–156", in *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, eds. A. Duke, J. Pollman, and A. Spicer (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 99–118; Gielis and Soen, "The Inquisitorial Office", pp. 47–66.

46 Gielis and Soen, "The Inquisitorial Office", p. 60.

47 Ibid., pp. 51, 59–62; see also Johan van de Wiele, "De Inquisitierechtbank van Pieter Titelmans in de zestiende eeuw in Vlaanderen", *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 91:1 (1982), 19–63.

48 Aline Goosens, *Les Inquisitions Modernes Dans Les Pays-Bas Meridionaux, 1520–1633, Tome 2: Les Victimes* (Brussels, 1998), pp. 95–99; for details about Titelmans's persecutions and areas of activity see van de Wiele, "De Inquisitierechtbank".

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execution.[49] Corneel Wouters, also called Cornelius Gualterus, a correspondent of Utenhove, recorded the case in 1557 of a "pompous" procession in Bruges in which a cleric degraded Karel de Koninck, a former Carmelite from Ghent who had converted to the Reformed faith. He had fled to England during the reign of Edward VI and had later ministered to a clandestine Reformed congregation in Bruges. The cleric handed him over to a civil magistrate.[50] Five out of the six persons whom civil authorities had condemned for heresy, however, were tried in absentia, having presumably fled.[51] In 1563 the Reformer Gerard Mortaigne, who had fled to Emden around 1557, saw his goods confiscated and his father imprisoned as he had failed to attend a summoning to defend himself against the accusation of heresy.[52] As a result of confiscations refugees probably often arrived in destitute condition or without their direct family. As this made it necessary for them to keep in contact with their business or familial partners in the Netherlands, they would have had an interest in the political attitude towards Reformed Protestantism in the Low Countries.

It is remarkable that the church did not shy away from controversial politics when it suited its purpose even though the churches were supposed to place the emphasis solely on religious affairs. Yet, the Dutch Church maintained a regular correspondence with city councils in the Low Countries. This started in the early 1560s, when it wrote to representatives of those councils who were sympathetic towards Protestants in an attempt to gain the release of prisoners.[53] Similarly, the Church regularly requested favours from the English government or the Bishop of London concerning prisoners in the Netherlands. The churches often had direct connections with English civil authorities which were reciprocated; for instance, the Privy Council made use of the churches in directing trade missions or negotiations. The elder Jan Utenhove in particular helped negotiations for a new wool staple at Emden, where another important exile community resided.[54]

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49 *Les Inquisitions Modernes, Tome 1: La Legislation*, pp. 148–50; J. Desreumaux, "Wervikse Geuzen", pp. 8–12.

50 Also spelled as Carl de Cueninck. Archivum, 2, Letter 19, pp. 56–58. Gualterius had been a Bruges canon before joining the Reformed movement.

51 A.L.E. Verheyden, *Le Martyrologe Protestant des Pays-Bas du Sud au XVI^me^ Siècle*, Collection Histoire du Protestantisme en Belgique et au Congo Belge (Bruxelles, 1960); J. Desreumaux, "Wervikse Geuzen", p. 8.

52 Archivum, 2, Letters 20 and 26, pp. 59–62, 86–87.

53 Ibid., Letters 170, 186, 625–28, 685–88.

54 George D. Ramsay, *The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Manchester, 1986), p. 34; Ramsay, *The City of London in International Politics at the Accession of Elizabeth Tudor* (Manchester, 1975), pp. 230–36; Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt:*

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In July 1560 the London Dutch Church received letters from the ministers of the Reformed church in Hondschoote about the imprisonment of three members of the London Dutch Church who were travelling through the Netherlands.[55] The churches urged their superintendent Edmund Grindal, in his capacity as the Bishop of London, to write to the responsible Flemish civil magistrate in favour of the captives, hoping they might be released. Subsequently, prominent English church leaders wrote a letter to the magistrates of Furnes concerning the three captives. Grindal and Archbishop Parker of Canterbury had signed the letter, as well as the civil lawyers William Meyns, Walter Haddon, and Thomas Huyke. They demanded the magistrates to release the prisoners on the grounds that these were now subjects of the Queen; they only came to the Low Countries on private matters and planned to return to England shortly.[56] Despite this legal yet threatening intervention on the part of the English authorities, the three individuals were executed.

It was not the only time the foreign churches intervened with political authorities to free religious captives; in 1562 the London Dutch Church unsuccessfully endeavoured to avert the burning of two brethren.[57] Aegidius Ente, a member of the Flemish Church in Sandwich who had been captured in Flanders, also desired the London Dutch Church to ask Grindal or the Privy Council to write to the chief Council of Flanders in his behalf.[58] In some cases the churches wrote to city councils. In 1562, for instance, the Dutch consistory was in touch with the city government of Kortrijk.[59] On other occasions they asked their superintendent, Bishop Grindal, to send such requests. The

Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism (Oxford, 1992), p. 45; Pettegree, pp. 265–66.

55 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 14.

56 This account comes from Gerard Brandt, *The history of the Reformation and other ecclesiastical transactions in and about the Low-Countries from the beginning of the eighth century, down to the famous synod of Dort. Faithfully translated from the original Low Dutch* (London, 1720, first original edn. 1671), pp. 134–35. It is supported by evidence of the existence of this letter which can be found in the Kerkeraads-protocollen. The letters were probably brought to a magistrate responsible for civil trial in Furnes as the following reference shows, however it does not mention the case: "Quis nuncius deferet literas ad magistratum in Flandria furnensem. (Veurne) (21 Julii)" in Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 21–23. Furnes, or Veurne in Flemish, was a large town and held the authority over neighbouring villages such as Hondschoote, which is now part of France. For more information about this incident, see Decavele, *De Dageraad*, I, pp. 412–13 and L.P. Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe II*, I (Brussel, 1867), pp. 251–52.

57 Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 179–80.

58 Archivum, 2, Letter 65, pp. 195–97.

59 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 412.

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London French Church also communicated about the fate of some members through Grindal. According to the consistory records, Grindal had corresponded and perhaps negotiated with Margaret of Parma in 1564 on the case of some members whom the Brussels Court had examined and caught. She was determined not to leave the Calvinists, whom she called "subjects", unpunished.[60] Reminded of his own exile years on the Continent, under Queen Mary, Grindal attempted to help the church and their brethren within the limits of his power.[61] Such political interference showed both the wish of the church to act in a legal way in the Netherlands, perhaps making use of disputes over jurisdiction.

A particular problem arose for any Protestant church in Europe experiencing the discord between theological, ideal principles and practical circumstances. In his *Institutes*, Calvin argued that the duty of private persons was to obey the ruler and resist rebellion, because, as he put it, "a good Christian answers to God rather than to man". His earlier writings which encouraged obedience placed many Reformed Christians and Huguenots in an awkward position when they faced repression from public authorities from the mid-sixteenth century onwards.[62] In the final years of his life Calvin justified a right of resistance in certain circumstances.[63] A large discourse surrounding authority and tyranny arose, most notably in France, around the time of the first French War of Religion (1562–1563). There it eventually culminated in the monarchomach movement which was prepared to justify regicide or tyrannicide through legal means, especially so after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572.[64]

60 It is very probable that Grindal negotiated with Margaret with the idea that the said Calvinists were now English subjects, or at least denizens of London and that he could thus claim authority over the prisoners. Actes du Consistoire 1, p. 89.

61 Patrick Collinson, "Calvinism with an Anglican Face: The Stranger Churches of Early Elizabethan London and their Superintendent", in *Godly People, Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism*, ed. Patrick Collinson (London, 1983), pp. 213–44 (p. 222).

62 Robert Fruin, "De Nederlandsche ballingen in Engeland betrokken in den opstand hunner landgenoten tegen Spanje, 1568–1570", *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, 3rd ser., 6 (1892), 57–74 (p. 59). Calvin himself had adopted a more pragmatic view by 1560. See also T.H.L. Parker, *Calvin: An introduction to his thought* (London, 1995), pp. 157–61.

63 Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt* (Cambridge, revised edition 2002), pp. 67–68.

64 Events such as the first French War of Religion presumably influenced the Reformed movement in the Netherlands, especially in the areas near the border with France or where Netherlandish Calvinist migrants from France settled, such as Antwerp. For more information about the Monarchomach movement see Camion Clément, "The Right of Resistance in Calvin and the Monarchomachs", *Ithaque – Revue de Philosophie de*

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In the 1560s the Catholic repression of unorthodox views in the Low Countries led to similar questions about resistance. The London Dutch Church's religious practices reveal that it was a melting pot for religious ideas.[65] A glance through the correspondence of the Dutch Church similarly shows contacts with theologians of various Protestant streams of thought.[66] This was especially so for the first generation of exiles in London, many of whom also sat in the consistory in the first years of the settlement under Elizabeth. In the 1560s there was an influx of Calvinist migrants from West Flanders.[67] This theological background perhaps marked a difference between the prominent figures in Sandwich, most of whom had arrived from the Westkwartier, close to the border with France, after 1559, and the dominant consistory members in the London Dutch Church, many of whom were previously present in the Strangers' Church under Edward VI and in the exile church of Emden.[68]

As Reformed groups became more visible throughout the first years of the 1560s, persecution grew. For the communities of the foreign churches the principal way of dealing with the problem of persecution was exile. In a letter to Elizabeth in 1560 the congregations described their exile as a liberation from cruelty in the Low Countries, thanks to God's providence, and Elizabeth's harbouring of the strangers, while likening themselves with Jesus Christ.[69] If returning members were captured, the stranger churches attempted to free the prisoners in a political way, especially if they were their own members travelling back to Flanders. Their previously mentioned intervention via Grindal with the city council of Furnes after the capture of three members in Hondschoote in 1560 was the outcome of a consistory meeting on 19 July 1560

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l'Université de Montréal, 5, (2009), pp. 1–25; Denis Crouzet, "Calvinism and the Uses of the Political and the Religious (France, ca. 1560–ca. 1572)", in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555–1585*, eds. Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop, and Marc Venard (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 99–114.

65 Jan Utenhove, one of the most influential elders in the first and second stranger churches' settlement had rather Zwinglian views on some issues. See Johannes Lindeboom, *Austin Friars: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Hervormde Gemeente te Londen, 1550–1950* (The Hague, 1950), p. 6. See chapter 3.

66 The letters were published in the Archivum.

67 van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, p. 66.

68 Pettegree mentions that seven elders and four deacons left London after the death of Edward VI and settled in the exile community of Emden which was founded by these wandering refugees, in Pettegree, p. 37. Of these eleven consistory members, we can identify four of them in the Elizabethan London Dutch Church in addition to their minister who had served the Strangers' Church, Wouter Deleene, and his son Peter Deleene, its new minister.

69 Archivum, 2, pp. 40, 124–27.

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in which it discussed how to relieve the prisoners.[70] Some consistory members might have proposed the idea of direct action in the form of prison breaking but in any case the consistory did not adopt this line of action. However, one year later, in November 1561, some members of the Sandwich community, who resided in London before the community's settlement in August 1561, chose this line of action when they liberated the Reformed bookseller Jan Hacke from a prison in the Flemish town of Meesen.[71] The London Dutch Church's consistory recorded its disapproval of this event in its records in 1562.[72]

Several months before this prison break, the Reformer Godfried van Winghen, who resided in Antwerp in the late 1550s and was active as a minister around Nieuwkercke in Flanders by 1561, sent a letter to the consistory of the London Dutch Church in March 1561 inquiring about resistance and violence against magistrates.[73] He asked the consistory to discuss three pertinent questions regarding resistance.[74] Van Winghen himself would, in late 1563, become minister of the London Dutch Church after serving as a preacher in the Sandwich community from August 1561.[75] Yet when he asked the questions, he was still preaching in Flanders.[76] That he put these questions to the London Dutch Church shows that he saw this church as an authoritative institution. He might have noticed a surge of violent behaviour or the possibility of resistance among Reformers in Flanders. Another reason was perhaps the fact that he had been a deacon in the Strangers' Church and had followed the group to its new place of exile in Emden after the death of Edward VI. He personally knew many of its consistory members and his question might have been a calculated step to condemn violence.[77]

The theme of resistance focused in part on their most relentless persecutors, the Catholic clergy. As the clergy constituted part of a religious institution rather than a legal entity, Reformers considered resistance to the Catholic clergy's moral authority. Outright defiance of secular authorities raised more difficulties. Van Winghen's letter of March 1561 provoked the first extensive discussion that the London Dutch Church held on the topic recorded in the

70 See p. 96; Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 14.

71 Edmond De Coussemaker, *Troubles Réligieux du XVI^e Siècle dans la Flandre Maritime, 1560–1570. Documents Originaux*, 4 vols (Bruges, 1876), I, p. 347; Backhouse, p. 138; Pettegree, p. 146.

72 Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 320–22.

73 Backhouse, pp. 13, 41.

74 Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 166–67.

75 Ibid., p. 490.

76 Backhouse, pp. 41, 135.

77 Pettegree, *Emden*, p. 37.

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consistory records. The consistory examined the three questions which the letter raised. First, they discussed whether they should allow a Reformed Christian to use arms in defence against "a papist". Second, they argued whether or not they should recognise and obey papal representatives, like inquisitors, as legal magistrates. Finally, they debated the liberation of prisoners.[78] Did Reformed Christians have the right to resist civil authorities and legal governors who were ignorant of the true Christian doctrine or were they supposed to suffer from the persecutions in silence like true martyrs?[79]

In this matter they consulted the London French Church which advised against any violent behaviour and they adopted the same position.[80] The French Church asserted that it allowed Reformed Christians to wear weapons to defend themselves, but Reformers should not use these weapons against a magistrate. They could wear arms to protect themselves from any attacks but not abuse them and bring disgrace to the Gospel. The deans or inquisitors, in their opinion, were working under the authority of the magistrates and thus should not be resisted with arms but only with patience, prayers and profession of faith. The French consistory thought it difficult to answer the last question. It proclaimed that the prisoners were good men, but it also believed that "God would not abandon them [the prisoners]".[81] They decided that they should not allow prison breaking as it would be too scandalous.[82] This deliberation revealed the emotional tensions which the imprisonment of their fellow brethren and the ideal of martyrdom aroused, however. The Dutch consistory of Antwerp asked London to consult Bishop Grindal about the case. The London Dutch Church's consistory acts of the year 1563 noted that van Winghen had also made inquiries into church breaking, or iconoclasm, in the letter on the question of resistance two years earlier.[83] The acts, however, curiously do not record any debate taking place on this topic.

78 Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 166–67.

79 Archivum, 2, Letter 100, pp. 334–37.

80 Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 166–67.

81 Ibid.

82 The acts say that the consistory discussed the topic of arms and prison breaking at the request of certain Flemish brethren who were still residing in Flanders. It is not clear whether this refers to the letters of van Winghen, which is very likely, or whether the French Church had received letters of inquiry from other Reformed Christians. Actes du Consistoire 1, p. 38.

83 The letter has no clear date. Hessels has dated it to 1570 because of the dates of the surrounding letters. Van Schelven, on the other hand, argues in his "Het begin van het gewapend verzet", p. 34 that van Winghen wrote the letter in 1561. He based this conclusion on the acts of the consistory which mention a letter from van Winghen discussing three points on resistance. In the letter in the Archivum, however, van Winghen did

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On 6 June 1562, the consistory of the London Dutch Church deliberated with the ministers of the Antwerp Reformed Church on whether or not they should recognize the Dean of Ronse, the inquisitor Titelmans, as a civic authority. Should they treat the dean as a lawful representative of the king or could he legally be resisted?[84] For Reformed churches in the southern Netherlands, where persecutions were the most severe, the exile churches' more cautious views about resistance were untenable. Despite initially opting for a policy of non-resistance, the leading Antwerp Reformed Church had by late 1562 consented to the forceful liberation of religious prisoners. The Antwerp Church organized a synod in that year to discuss the question, on the advice of the churches of London, Geneva, and Emden. At this synod they decided to endorse prison breaking.[85] In some cases the Antwerp church also allowed resistance against magistrates.[86] The London refugee churches, however, opposed this view on prison breaking and did not permit any armed resistance against legal authorities. It opposed the decision made at the Antwerp synod. A lengthy quarrel over the problem of resistance continued to trouble the relations between both churches for several years. The rupture came in May 1562, after the London Dutch Church's consistory had sent a warning, cast, as Antwerp interpreted it, in patronizing terms to the Antwerp Dutch consistory. The letter admonished Antwerp against resistance and rumours of rebellious behaviour.[87] The argument became so heated that the Antwerp minister Herman Strijckers, also called Moded, refused to write letters of attestation for anyone wishing to travel to the London Church in 1562.[88]

Perhaps to make their own viewpoint heard, the London Dutch Church in the final months of 1562 examined the views of some of its members on resistance against magisterial authorities.[89] The consistory records registered at least three such cases. The most extensive case recounts how a member of the

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point out similar questions on resistance, but he described four questions and not three. Yet, on balance, I concur with van Schelven that this letter should be dated 1561. See the Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 167. There is also another indication of the faulty dating in the consistory acts. It contains a reference to a letter from van Winghen two years earlier. This reference has been arbitrarily entered in the consistory acts on the reverse of a page. It mentions opposition to prison breaking, something which also recurs in the letter which Hessels dated 1571. Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 427–28; Archivum, 2, Letter 100, pp. 334–37.

84 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 322.

85 van Schelven, "Het begin van het gewapend verzet", pp. 136–37.

86 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 397.

87 Ibid., pp. 320–22.

88 Ibid., pp. 349, 412.

89 Ibid., pp. 363, 386.

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church, Cornelis Riemslager, had publicly argued in favour of violence against civil authorities in the Dutch church. The consistory decided to suspend him, his wife, and another member with similar opinions, Dominicus Visvercoper, and bar them from attending the Lord's Supper until they changed their minds on the subject.[90] Yet this does not mean that these three members were the only ones in favour of resistance. While it is impossible to work out who and how many members favoured resistance, we can assume that there were several of them for two reasons. First, new members arriving around 1562 had experienced the heightened persecution more directly than those who had resided in England since the start of Elizabeth's reign. Second, Backhouse has shown that although figures opposed to resistance dominated the London Dutch consistory, some London members, as well as consistory members, participated in prison breaking and armed public sermons in the Netherlands.[91] The tensions which plagued the London Dutch Church from 1563 onwards on issues of church practices such as the godparents question perhaps mirrored the divisions in the church on the topic of resistance.

2 The Effect of Armed Resistance on the Stranger Churches

In 1563 the French Church of London, in concert with the Dutch Church, composed a letter of recommendation for its minister Nicholas des Gallars. This letter portrayed des Gallars as a quiet, peaceful, and diligent man who constantly endeavoured to "conform the good to the way of justice as well as to remove the rebels from their vices and sins".[92] This emphasis on a quiet and peaceful life suggests another facet of church life which the London Church had to take into account, namely that of its own authority and unity. The London Dutch Church's consistory did not accept any dissenting opinions or behaviour that violated its authority, using coercion to enforce its policy of moderation. Internal struggles were a frequent calamity for the churches and discipline was hard to maintain.[93] People who did not agree with the consistory's decisions were quickly labelled as rebels. In this way, the consistory in 1561 declared adherents of van Haemstede to be participants in rebellion and violence against the consistory.[94] Similarly, in late 1560 Peter Deleene exhorted the people to

90 Ibid., pp. 363, 386–92.
91 Backhouse, pp. 135–47; Backhouse, "The Official Start of Armed Resistance", pp. 198–226.
92 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 158.
93 Ibid., p. 221.
94 Ibid., p. 158.

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live quietly, cause "no scandal to the people of the country [England]", and to consider the benefits "which God had shown them by receiving them graciously in this country".[95] In the London French Church, the consistory was also aware of the importance of the way in which both locals and immigrants perceived the community. In a row over beer in 1561, the church recorded that the scandal would prompt "the others who were not from the church to say 'there you have it, those Reformed people'".[96] This emphasis on a quiet character, which even Grindal used in 1561 to describe van Winghen to the Frankfurt city council, subtly implied a stark contrast with being rebellious.[97]

This is not surprising, since, as we have already seen, the stranger churches looked forward to the spread of the Reformed movement in the Low Countries but refused to promote any form of violence. They disassociated themselves from any act of rebellion by making a distinction between their perceived righteousness in the promotion of the faith and rebellious behaviour.[98] Although they did heavily criticize the government of Philip II, promoting any kind of rebellion or violence among the people, however, was a bridge too far for the churches.[99] Whether or not they secretly hoped for it, Reformed Christians could not ideologically sanction violence, as Micronius and Utenhove's little Catechism explained.[100] They would have undermined their own ideals, faith and liturgy, and jeopardized their relationship with the English government.

Owe Boersma has described the London Dutch Church's conservative stance towards resistance as an act of self-preservation.[101] On the one hand, the refugees were living in safe exile and were able to a degree to keep aloof from events in the Low Countries. On the other, they wished to continue to live quietly in England and therefore had no desire to antagonize the English government. Yet, the church also carefully considered political and ideological reasons for acting the way it did. Ideologically, the consistory considered any form

95 Actes du Consistoire I, p. xix.

96 Ibid., p. 52.

97 Archivum, 2, p. 178. Reminiscent of Ethan H. Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2011).

98 See chapter 2. Martin Micronius, *Een Waerachteghe Historie, van Hoste* (*gheseyt Jooris*) *vander Katelyne, te Ghendt om het vry opentlick straffen der Afgodischer Leere, ghebrandt ten grooten nutte ende vertroostinghe aller Christenen ghescreuen* (Emden, [1556]), fols 56–58.

99 Jan Utenhove and Martin Micronius, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere, diemen te Londen, in den Duydtsche Ghemeynte was ghebruykende* (Emden, 1558), fols 3–4, 6, 9–11.

100 Ibid., fols 33–34.

101 Boersma, "Vluchtig voorbeeld", pp. 188–89. On the relations between the stranger churches and English government see also Lindeboom, *Austin Friars*, p. 57, and Pettegree, pp. 269, 305.

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of violence to be sinful. On a political level the consistory foresaw that active resistance to the legal government would lead to rebellion in the Netherlands and it respected the tradition of the godly ruler.[102] One motive behind this stance was again a fear of being associated with the Münster Anabaptists.[103]

The exile churches upheld the idea of martyrdom when Reformers did not choose exile or got caught and used it at their own convenience. The London Dutch Church prayed for the contemporary martyrs and praised the fortitude of those who did not change their declaration of faith under torture and defended the Reformed religion even if it led to their death.[104] Moreover, one of their earliest ministers, Adriaan van Haemstede, who wrote one of the best-known martyrologies of that time, sought to convince the reader that throughout history the persecution of true Christians had been normal and, to an extent, he glamourized the idea of martyrdom.[105] The exile churches served mainly as a haven for religious leaders to escape to when it became too dangerous for them in the Low Countries and to return when it was convenient. In that respect it was not so much the exile churches which were important for the spread of the Reformed movement through the mobility of its ministers but the strategic and geographical convenience of the possibility to flee to England. We should also remember that many of the exiles committed acts of resistance before ever fleeing to England. The idea that it was possible to flee to a haven presumably psychologically influenced the decision-making process in favour of resistance in many cases.

We do not know whether the consistory records and letters provide a misleading image of the external policies of the church. The records, which the minister Peter Deleene composed, do not mention discussions in detail, despite them being some of the fullest and richest consistory records in existence, and the consistory or its members may have had an unofficial programme for the promotion of the Gospel in the Low Countries, perhaps turning a blind eye to some of its members despite its stance towards resistance.[106] The stranger churches stressed the division between private and public spheres, and believed in a separation between the private initiative of its members

102 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 322.

103 Jelsma, "The 'Weakness of Conscience'", p. 228. Also Boersma, "Vluchtig voorbeeld", pp. 188–89. This is an interesting element as the church refers to violent behaviour as "Anabaptist behaviour" in its consistory records.

104 Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 179–80.

105 van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, p. 72; Haemstedius, *De Gheschiedenisse*, pp. i–ix.

106 In 1576 the Walloon church of Canterbury refused to present money for the cause of William of Orange in the Netherlands but carefully hinted that perhaps the messengers could find money among its members. CCA, U47/A1, p. 41.

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and official consistory policies.[107] As such the consistory of the French Church had listened to, and approved, the content of a letter which its minister Jean Cousin had written in 1564. The consistory declared that anything he had written that went beyond the content of what it had dictated was his private matter.[108] The consistory was, however, very much occupied with the perceptions of the churches by the English people and government. Although gratitude for the hospitality undoubtedly informed this attitude, the church could not afford to defy the authority of Philip, his advisers, and civic authorities openly. They did not want to provoke a diplomatic incident that might jeopardize this hospitality.[109]

3 Different Perspectives on Resistance

While the London stranger churches officially adhered to policies of non-resistance and opposed the use of violence towards any legal magistrate, not everyone, as we have seen, held this opinion. Scholars have tried to draw a distinction between radical and moderate Calvinists according to their attitude about resistance.[110] Some of the Reformers thought it was permissible to use violence in their zealous attempts to advance the Reformed cause in the Low Countries. The label 'radical' could sometimes be misleading. There is no evidence that radical Reformers necessarily espoused radical theological ideas. We should remember that many of these 'radicals' did not receive any formal education, even the ones who preached.[111]

Their stress on resistance in the hope of forcing authorities to recognize the Reformed movement as a legal religion appeared out of practical circumstances rather than theological arguments. Some Reformed Protestants could not live up to the ideal of martyrdom. The tensions of practical life and the influence of the French example of the first French War of Religion encouraged resistance of secular and religious authorities.[112] Civil authorities perceived actions such as prison breaking and armed preaching as being 'radical'. The 1562 Reformed synod in Antwerp had made prison breaking permissible, in opposition to London. After that event, it was the London stranger churches' position

107 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 10.
108 Actes du Consistoire 1, p. 92.
109 For instance, Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 11.
110 Pettegree, "The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar", pp. 91–92; Backhouse, "De Vlaamse vluchtelingen in Sandwich (1561–1603)", p. 151.
111 Backhouse, p. 143; Crew, *Calvinist Preaching*; pp. 179–180.
112 Even though there is little practical evidence for this, it is very likely.

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on the matter of resistance that appeared increasingly at odds with Reformed political thought in the Low Countries. By the middle of the 1560s, approval of some forms of resistance was a common stance. This ironically made the repudiation of resistance by the stranger churches seem radical.

By opposing the decision of the Antwerp synod of 1562 to support prison breaking, the London Dutch Church created a difficult relationship between the two churches.[113] The Antwerp Dutch Reformed Church played a central role in the internal promotion of the Reformed faith in the Low Countries.[114] Hoping to end this breach, two Antwerp consistory members a few months later travelled to London to discuss their disagreement. They sought the London consistory's approval for the decision, yet their treatment of the London Dutch Church was tactless. Gerit Martens, a member of the London Dutch Church, reported to the London consistory how Herman Moded and Pieter Hazaert, the Antwerp ministers, had gossiped in Antwerp about this meeting. They recounted what the representatives of Antwerp thought was childish behaviour on the part of London's minister Peter Deleene in the disputation and declared that they would ridicule Peter among the immigrants unless he stopped preaching against prison breaking. In addition, they swore they would not in future seek advice from the London Dutch Church.[115]

Certain influential individuals within the exile communities opposed resistance. The minister Godfried van Winghen held such views regarding resistance to hostile magistrates. As previously mentioned, he had lived in London under Edward VI, before moving to Emden and preaching in Flanders; from November 1561 he resided in Sandwich before he travelled to Frankfurt shortly thereafter. We do not know precisely when he returned and when he took up the function of minister there, but it was presumably in 1562. In 1563 he became the minister of the London Dutch Church after Peter Deleene had died of plague.[116] Deleene was an equally influential opponent of resistance in the London Dutch Church. It was he who composed the strongly-worded letter of May 1562 in which he reminded the Antwerp consistory of its duties towards the authorities and admonished its members to avoid any suspicion of rebellion or disorder.[117] In the same year he also preached in the church of Austin Friars against the use of violence on civil magistrates. One of the members

113 See pp. 100-2, 105-7 for more information on this argument.
114 Marnef, *Antwerpen*, pp. 105–8.
115 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 349.
116 Ibid., pp. 261–62, 286, 490.
117 Pettegree, "The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar", p. 85; Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 349.

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recounted this sermon in Antwerp where it enraged the Antwerp consistory.[118] Their vision of non-resistance and legality ran counter to the attitude of Reformed churches in Flanders and Brabant throughout the 1560s.

I agree with Pettegree when he says that one should distinguish between the actions and views of ministers and consistory members who had been in exile and the actions of the consistories of the exile churches.[119] Though he did not enlarge on this insight, it is useful to look more fully at these ministers. Godfried van Winghen and Peter Deleene were two influential figures within the London Dutch Church who had opposed resistance and successfully seen this become the official policy of the church. Several ministers were specifically identified as favouring the violent enforcement of the Reformers' freedom, namely Sebastiaan Matte, Gheleyn Damman, William Damman, Pieter Hazaert and Jacob de Buyzere for the Westkwartier, and Joris Wybo and Herman Moded for Antwerp.[120] All of these ministers had resided in England at some point but had returned to the Continent or only fled to England later, when their situation became too dangerous. The Sandwich stranger community provided a haven for most of them to return to and for that reason Backhouse thought the resistance movement originated here.[121]

Even within the Sandwich community, there was no unified view over prison breaking. In November 1561, an organized band of exiles from Sandwich liberated the book merchant Jan Hacke from captivity in Nieuwpoort and transported him to England. Some members of the London Dutch Church were also implicated in the action.[122] It was in reaction to this event that the Sandwich consistory deliberated on the issue of violence and resistance, but at this point the pacifist faction took the lead.[123] Godfried van Winghen may by this time already have resided in Sandwich. Yet the militants there were not going to quieten down, having experienced increasing persecution. While in Sandwich, they regularly planned actions such as preaching or prison breaking. It is uncertain how prevalent such militant ideas were among the Sandwich consistory by that time, but Backhouse's claim that Sandwich minister Jacob de Buyzere had built up a large "intelligence-office" in this community, suggests that such radicalism was widespread.[124] He identified at least four other Flemish Reformers who had settled in Sandwich before 1566 but

118 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 390.
119 Pettegree, "The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar", pp. 84–85.
120 van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, p. 75.
121 Backhouse.
122 Pettegree, *Emden*, pp. 75–76; van Schelven, "Het begin van het gewapend verzet", p. 129.
123 Pettegree, *Emden*, p. 76.
124 Backhouse, p. 140.

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were notable 'radicals' around that time.[125] Thus there can be no doubt that the Sandwich exiles played an important role in the resistance against Spanish and Catholic authorities before the Revolt. Yet there were also differences between the London Dutch Church and the Sandwich church, as well as between their members' views.

Two other strongholds of the Flemish brethren were Norwich and Colchester. A Reformed Flemish community resided in Colchester from 1560, but the Privy Council only recognized it formally in 1570.[126] The Norwich Flemish Church was officially founded in 1565, but negotiations for a settlement there via the London Dutch Church started as early as 1560.[127] Both communities have two things in common. First, neither has left any significant records for the period under consideration. Secondly, Peter Deleene, who kept the records of the consistory of the London Dutch Church, described both communities as particularly Flemish or in relation with Flemish brethren.[128] A connection between Norwich and Flanders is not surprising as its first thirty settlers came from Sandwich, whose large influx of migrants exceeded the limit which the English authorities had set.[129]

Backhouse calculated that at least 48 per cent of the members of the Flemish community in Sandwich between 1561 and 1566 originated from the Westkwartier, a region in the south-western corner of Flanders.[130] A substantial part of the smaller group of French-speaking refugees in Sandwich had also previously resided in the Westkwartier, or lived in the French-speaking part of Flanders bordering the Westkwartier.[131] Negotiations about the legal settlement of the community took place in the summer of 1561. The London Dutch Church's elder Jan Utenhove entered into discussions with the town

125 Ibid., p. 143.

126 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 100; *Register of baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645 to 1728*, ed. W.J.C. Moens, Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, 12 (Lymington, 1905), pp. i–ii.

127 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 25. Raingard Esser explains that the Norwich Flemish and Walloon churches were founded in 1565 in her *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996), p. 16.

128 One must not forget that Flanders was only a part of the Low Countries. Strictly it was a county, independent from other jurisdictions that made up the 'Seventeen Provinces', such as the Duchy of Brabant.

129 Raingard Esser, "Strangers within the Gates: Dutch and Walloon Refugees in Norwich", *Westhoek Info*, 8.1 (April 1992), pp. 28–34 (p. 28).

130 Backhouse, p. 18. The Westkwartier was a region in the westernmost corner of West Flanders, near the north of France. Ypres was one of its main cities.

131 Marcel Backhouse, "The Flemish refugees in Sandwich (1561–1603)", in *Revolt and Emigration, Refugees from the Westkwartier in Sandwich in the XVIth Century*, ed. J. Decaestecker (Dikkebus, 1988), pp. 91–117 (pp. 93–95).

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council of Sandwich on behalf of the foreigners.[132] In 1561 the community of Sandwich also discussed whether violence could be justified. At that point Godfried van Winghen pleaded against resistance and the faction within the consistory supporting van Winghen formed the majority.[133] His opponents included the influential Reformers Jacob de Buzere and Pieter Hazaert, who came to prominence with the armed public preaching in Flanders around 1562. The militants in Sandwich had not received any formal education but were mostly textile workers and artisans. Perhaps this suggests a difference similar to that between magisterial and popular or militant Reformers.[134] Forty-three per cent of the inhabitants of Flanders who were condemned or suspected of heresy between 1520 and 1565 came from the Westkwartier.[135] Moreover, a profound anger against the authorities simmered among the inhabitants in this region and in French Flanders due to the persecutions.[136] The Antwerp community also had strong links with the Westkwartier.[137] These links become evident when ones examines the judicial records of Antwerp. As early as 1558 several Flemish Reformed Christians were imprisoned in Antwerp because of heresy, and many Flemish were to follow this fate. All the Flemish people in the 1558 case came from the Westkwartier. Moreover, the documents also record that four Flemish persons broke out of prison in Antwerp in 1559.[138] Those who sympathized with the militant Reformers thus did not become radicals in England but in the Low Countries, before they fled.

Ludo Vandamme and Marcel Backhouse have asserted that Sandwich was the stronghold of a militant or radical fraction where "a strategy was sorted out for the effective spreading of Calvinism on the home front".[139] Exiles who had returned to England with the released prisoner planned and carried out prison breaking in the Low Countries.[140] It was from Sandwich that the first armed public preaching in Boeschepe on 12 July 1562 was planned. The preacher on that occasion was the local refugee weaver Gheleyn Damman who after the

132 Kent History and Library Centre Maidstone, Sa/Ac4 The Little Black Book, fol. 195.

133 Pettegree, *Emden*, p. 76.

134 Backhouse, p. 143.

135 Ibid., p. 18. Backhouse concludes this with help of the findings of Decavele, *De Dageraad*, II, pp. 62–207.

136 van Schelven, "Het begin van het gewapend verzet", pp. 130–32.

137 Marnef, *Antwerpen*, pp. 103–4.

138 "Personen te Antwerpen", 9, p. 16.

139 Backhouse, pp. 135–147; Ludo Vandamme, "Revolt in the Weskwartier", in *Revolt and Emigration*, ed. Decaestecker (Dikkebus, 1988), 29–78 (p. 32); Marcel Backhouse, "De Vlaamse vluchtelingen in Sandwich (1561–1603)", *Westhoek, Genealogisch Jaarboek*, 4 (Dikkebus, 1987), pp. 139–56 (p. 151).

140 Vandamme, "Revolt in the Weskwartier", p. 32.

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event fled back to Sandwich with some of his followers.[141] From the records of Ypres we know that Damman was a convicted heretic who had come over from England. His followers brought weapons to the sermon to protect the preacher.[142] These followers had also forcefully liberated Damman from prison in February 1562, after which Damman fled with them to Sandwich.[143]

One of the organizers of the prison breaking that saved Damman was Johannes Beaugrand, who served as an elder in the Sandwich consistory.[144] Another Reformed consistory member present was Jan Lamoot, an elder of the London Dutch Church. In 1560 he served the consistory at the same time as the militant Sebastian Matte.[145] The London consistory discussed the prison breaking and in this discussion Jan Lamoot defended the action of "the Flemish brethren" as a private act.[146] The Dutch Church of London was aware of the increasing potential for resistance in the Low Countries. The descriptions in the letter which Peter Deleene in his function of minister sent to the Antwerp consistory shows that he was aware of the tendency towards resistance in the Low Countries. Deleene warned strongly against the dangers of uproar and resistance after hearing rumours among the community and from Godfried van Winghen, who was on the Continent briefly at that time, about seditious plans. He declared that he heard members of the London and Sandwich communities speaking "wondrous words which", he feared, "tended to motivate uproar" that was disadvantageous to the churches.[147]

Other sources also confirmed the existence of these rumours. In 1562 the papal nuncio to Madrid had forwarded a report to Philip II which had been sent to Rome from England. The record described the rumour that certain provinces in the southern Netherlands would revolt if they did not receive religious freedom and that 30,000 exiles were primed to enforce this freedom.[148] This account was clearly exaggerated; the exile churches were not that numerous. The London Dutch Church counted 227 married men in 1560 and the

141 Vandamme, "Revolt in the Weskwartier", p. 32; Pettegree, "The Strangers and their Churches", p. 274; De Coussemaker, *Troubles religieux*, I, p. 348, III, pp. 74–75. Pettegree refers to Backhouse, "The Official Start of Armed Resistance", pp. 198–224, which indeed gives a more detailed account of the event.

142 *Mémoire justificatif*, ed. Isidore L.A. Diegerick, pp. 169, 171, 172, 175, 177, 235.

143 van Schelven, "Het begin van het gewapend verzet", pp. 128–29.

144 Backhouse, "'De Vlaamse vluchtelingen in Sandwich'", p. 148.

145 Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 41, 42.

146 Ibid., p. 307. He probably derived this opinion from 'private law theory' which states that people could naturally defend themselves against unjustly force. See van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, pp. 63, 108.

147 Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 320–22.

148 Decavele, *De Dageraad*, I, p. 432.

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French Church counted between 313 and 410 participants to the Lord's Supper in 1564–1565.[149] Apart from that, the diplomat Christophe d'Assonleville wrote to Cardinal Granvelle from England in April 1563 that he had heard rumours from the exiles there that the tide would change for the Reformed Christians in the Low Countries, religiously as well as politically.[150] This probably referred to the rapprochement between some members of the Reformed communities and nobles in the Low Countries. The city authorities of Antwerp were also suspicious of English exiles in 1563.[151]

The division of the Reformed Christians into militant and pacifist groups caused many of the conflicts within the church. In that respect, one needs to be careful with the assumption that refugee communities in England organized resistance. In the year 1563 even, the church charged one of its members with insulting the ministers and slandering Peter Deleene's sermon against resistance and the use of arms in the Antwerp community.[152] It is more likely that a network of like-minded, militant Reformers existed which consciously used the foreign churches as havens, with the aim of gaining a measure of legitimacy. At the same time, plague ravaged the London and Sandwich communities in 1563 and became a major concern for the foreign churches' consistories.[153]

Public preaching first took place in Antwerp.[154] Yet, the region of the Westkwartier in Flanders remained the major hotbed with connections to the communities of Sandwich, London, and Antwerp. Before his imprisonment, Damman had served as a minister for the Reformed church of Hondschoote, in the Westkwartier.[155] He and Pieter Hazaert, another minister from Hondschoote, had arranged the migration of Reformed Christians to the stranger community of Sandwich.[156] Sandwich regularly kept London informed, sending letters and messengers. It let the Dutch Church know that three female family members of the men executed in Hondschoote in 1560 were themselves imprisoned in 1562 but were set free, although they did not mention on whose account.[157] It is not surprising that Reformers from the Westkwartier chose Sandwich for the West-Flemish community as trade links existed, but above all the proximity

149 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 210; Actes du Consistoire 1, pp. 59, 62, 82, 87, 91, 96, 99, 105, 107, 109, 112, 113, 115, 117, 121, 123.

150 Decavele, *De Dageraad*, 1, p. 432.

151 "Personen te Antwerpen", 9, pp. 153–55. See also p. 43.

152 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 399.

153 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 490; Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone Sa/Ac4 The Little Black Book, fol. 248 v.

154 See p. 40.

155 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 213.

156 Ibid., p. 237.

157 Archivum, 2, Letter 64, pp. 195–57.

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to the Continent played a role. Although there is no hard evidence, it is not difficult to imagine that a group of Reformers such as Damman and Hazaert had planned to use Sandwich as a stronghold for the more militant members, providing a safe operational basis.

Many ministers from the Low Countries held a position in one of the exile churches at some point. This seemingly strengthened the connection between English refugee communities and militancy. Ministers travelled over from the Low Countries to address adherents in foreign churches, but this often happened at the request of provincial foreign communities in England. Willem de Schilder, for example, resided in London in 1560 and was a deacon in 1562, yet resided in Sandwich by 1563, where he worked as a bay weaver. In 1560, however, the consistory of the London Dutch Church sent him to Flanders to guide the Reformed Christians there at the request of Godfried van Winghen, who was still then minister in the Low Countries.[158] Backhouse characterized de Schilder as a radical.[159] The Dutch Church was also in contact with the west-Flemish militants Willem Damman and Pieter Hazaert, from whom they received letters of recommendation in favour of an exile who wished to join the London Dutch Church.[160] Both were elders of an underground Reformed church of Hondschoote.[161] In 1562 Hazaert was in London for church business and hoped to take some members with him to preach in Flanders. He got into an argument with the elder Johannes Camphin over this.[162] In 1560, one Reformer asked the London church members to pray for the Flemish people who were advancing the cause of the Gospel.[163]

In 1560 the notorious preacher Sebastiaan Matte first appeared in the church's consistory acts when he had proposed to depart from England because of language problems and for educational purposes. It is not clear how long he had resided in London.[164] The consistory permitted his departure. In 1562, however, he seems to have been in London once again, since he was one of the elders of the church in that year. Matte was a hedge preacher and later engaged in the outbreak of iconoclasm. The consistory, and Peter Deleene in

158 A baey/bay was a type of new lighter-weight cloth that formed part of the New Draperies production. Kerkeraads-protocollen, pp. 49, 214.

159 Backhouse, p. 140.

160 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 213.

161 Ibid., p. 75.

162 Ibid., p. 214.

163 Ibid., p. 78.

164 In 1543 Matte took out a concession for the use of a mill for the period of 18 years in Ypres. The document noted that he was a bonnet maker at that point. *Inventaire analytique*, ed. Diegerick, 5, pp. 254–55.

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particular, named him and Franciscus Bolle as the "Flemish brothers", provoking the feeling that this was a West-Flemish group from which Deleene wanted to distance himself and the Dutch Church.[165] The Westkwartier churches contained a large group of militant ministers showing violent tendencies or who at least approved of resistance in defence of their religion, in particular William Damman, Gheleyn Damman, and Pieter Hazaert.

The Westkwartier's proximity to France and the French-speaking regions of Flanders probably influenced the Reformation there. Ypres witnessed an influx of Calvinist immigrants from France before 1566.[166] Similarly, many Reformed from the Walloon areas and northern France migrated to the Dutch speaking regions in the Low Countries, and in particular Antwerp which was an attractive city for trade.[167] This is attested by the presence of French or Walloon Reformed churches and communities in major Dutch-speaking cities.[168] We have reports from Antwerp of groups singing psalms in French late at night.[169] Spicer has identified Calvinist and trade networks between the Walloon towns of Valenciennes and Tournai, Antwerp, and immigrants of the later exile settlement of Southampton (1567), many of whom had taken part in the Iconoclastic Fury and troubles of 1566.[170] The French Church of London counted a majority of Walloon members or francophone members of the Low Countries, though its ministers were French.[171]

The outbreak of the Religious Wars in France in the early 1560s served to reinforce those who advocated resistance.[172] Yet, even before that the Reformed movement became increasingly militant in France from the late 1550s.[173] This

165 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 221.

166 *Archives d'Ypres. Documents du XVI^e siècle, faisant suite à l'inventaire des chartes*, ed. Diegerick, 3 (Bruges, 1876), pp. 22–28; *Mémoire justificatif*, ed. Diegerick, pp. 242–44.

167 Spicer points at "a general migration from the Walloon towns after 1562". He identifies three migration patterns: one to France, a second one to England, and a third one to Antwerp. The latter was a most convenient city as one could easily hide there, he states. Spicer, p. 7.

168 The Walloon or French-speaking community in Antwerp came into existence in the 1550s. Marnef, *Antwerpen*, pp. 97, 104.

169 Ibid., pp. 7–10, 12–13.

170 Spicer, general thesis.

171 Actes du Consistoire 1, p. xv.

172 Boersma, "Vluchtig Voorbeeld", p. 190.

173 Philip Benedict, "The dynamics of Protestant Militancy: France, 1555–1563", in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585*, eds. Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop, and Marc Venard (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 35–50 (pp. 37–47); also mentioned by Andrew Spicer, "Nicholas des Gallars's *Forme de police ecclésiastique de Londres* and the French Reformed Church", in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 29: 4 (2011), 532–63 (p. 558).

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militancy perhaps influenced Reformers in the southern Netherlands, near the border, into resistance against persecutions. Jelsma believed that elsewhere in the Netherlands the situation was different as Lutheran ideas influenced the movement. For Lutherans persecution was more confined to Anabaptists and revolt against the government was unthinkable.[174] The London Dutch Church too, as mentioned before, was not Calvinist. Its response to the use of force differed markedly from the churches in the southern Netherlands. The consistory of the London Dutch Church could not impose its values of obedience on other Reformers or Reformed churches in the Low Countries in this period, let alone on its own members. In Ypres, the city authorities registered cases in which men and women were dancing and singing Protestant songs on the street. Yet, the church authorities in the London settlement strictly forbade dancing and singing, with the exception of the recitation of psalms.[175] Similarly, the London stranger churches would probably have those who randomly sought to disturb Catholic services and provoke public disorder punished, as we know from Micronius's writings.[176]

4 Conclusion

Reformers committed violence and prison breaking in the Low Countries before 1560, especially in Antwerp, but the 1560s saw an upsurge in violence. Prison breaking and armed preaching was a response to increased repression. Reformers residing in England organized prison breaking in the Westkwartier area. The foreign churches were increasingly drawn into a network of mobile Reformers travelling between the Low Countries and England in order to promote their ideas in the Low Countries. Radical preachers, such as Gheleyn and William Damman, Willem de Schildere, and Jacob de Buyzere, gathered a large following.

174 Jelsma, "The 'Weakness of Conscience'", pp. 227–28; M.E.H.N. Mout, "Armed Resistance and Calvinism during the Revolt of the Netherlands", in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium* (*Exeter, 30 August–3 September, 1988*), eds. Johannes van den Berg and Paul G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), pp. 57–68 (p. 60). Mout mentions how van Schelven thought he could detect a sniff of Calvinist influence in the discussions on prison breaking within the Reformed churches in the early 1560s in van Schelven, "Het begin van het gewapend verzet", pp. 126–56.

175 *Mémoire justificatif*, ed. Diegerick, p. 90.

176 Ibid., pp. 91–92, 165–66.

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Within the Westkwartier minister van Winghen expressed his concern about these popular Reformers and their stance towards resistance in 1561. As incidents demonstrating resistance against persecutions spread, the Reformers in congregations in London, Emden, and Antwerp started wondering how to deal with this issue. The consistory of the London Dutch Church formally agreed with van Winghen's concerns and in accordance with the French Church agreed to oppose any form of resistance and violence in the Low Countries. So far, this narrative sounds familiar as a synthesis of the historiography concerning the foreign churches and the Reformation in the Low Countries, but the consequences of resistance for the foreign churches and how they dealt with resistance are less well-known. The stranger churches attempted to address the persecutions by undertaking legal actions to free captive co-religionists. These actions did not, however, bring the desired results. Well-educated magisterial Reformers such as Peter Deleene, Jan Utenhove, and Godfried van Winghen slowly lost ground to more militant preachers from humbler backgrounds.

The issue also affected the moral authority which the writings of Utenhove, à Lasco, and Micronius had tried to claim, as well as the ecclesiastical authority of the consistories. The consistory of the London Dutch Church attempted to maintain its discipline more strictly, though this provoked opposition from some of its members. The consistories themselves played only a small role in the development of resistance in the Low Countries, that is by allowing preachers trained within their churches to go back to the Low Countries when that was not too dangerous, as mentioned in the previous chapter. The London churches condemned violence and by doing so came into direct confrontation with the Antwerp Dutch-speaking Reformed Church, which condoned prison breaking and certain forms of violence. The disagreement caused disunity between the Low Countries and London, estranging London from the Low Countries. Despite this, the consistory of the London Dutch Church continued to contain some militant members. The tenor concerning resistance in other communities depended on the presence of militant individuals. Sandwich, for instance, officially revoked violence in 1561 when van Winghen was the minister of the community. After van Winghen's departure to take on the ministry in London, the militant Reformer de Buyzere took over the ministry in Sandwich.

Militants from the Westkwartier valued the presence of foreign congregations in England as occasional havens and sources of funding. Yet many more moderate Reformers valued the input of the Dutch in England who warned of the dangers of resistance to authority. As shown in this chapter, there was no uniformity of support for militancy. This restricted the ability of the stranger churches to offer clear and unequivocal support to the rebels, which means

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that while we can see many elements of broad sympathy for what was happening on the Continent, the stranger churches did not as a whole actively incite resistance abroad. The discussion now needs to turn to what 'authority' and 'obedience' really meant to the stranger churches and how they coped when the stakes were raised in 1566.

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CHAPTER 4

The Impact of the Wonderjaar (1566) on the Stranger Churches

From 10 August 1566 onwards, a wave of iconoclasm broke out in the Low Countries. It started after the Reformed minister Sebastian Matte preached a sermon near Steenvoorde in Flanders. The wave of iconoclasm spread within two months from the southern to the northern Netherlands. These were not the first acts of iconoclasm in the Low Countries. The judicial records of Antwerp's city archives, for instance, show several cases of image breaking or desecration between 1559 and 1562, and infrequently in the preceding decade.[1] Despite previous attacks on images, the iconoclasm of 1566 still seems to have come as a shock to the government. The acts of iconoclasm before 1566 were often isolated cases by individuals working alone or with one or two companions. The iconoclasm of 1566, however, saw large groups of people violently cleansing the churches of images and instigating similar acts in neighbouring villages and towns. The iconoclasm that started in Steenvoorde triggered further attacks as Protestants across the Low Countries copied these attacks. The iconoclastic activity in the Low Countries even affected some Lower-Rhine cities. In Xanten and Wesel in the subsequent year local inhabitants and Dutch refugees damaged or destroyed statues.[2] Once again militant Protestants who had taken refuge in England clashed with the consistory of the London Dutch concerning the propriety of such radical acts.

Scholars have offered various explanations for the onslaught on the churches. Some have categorized all incidents as the work of angry mobs, but in many cases plunder was not involved. It is equally tempting to suppose that all instances of iconoclasm in 1566 were interconnected and organized, as does indeed seem to have been the case in some places, yet Protestants responded

1 "Personen te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw voor het 'feit van religie' gerechterlijk vervolgd (vervolg). (1559–1567): Lijst en ambachtelijke bijhoorige stukken", ed. Pieter Génard, *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 9 (1869), 1–349, especially pp. 124–28. There is also earlier evidence of individual acts of iconoclasm, for instance at Antwerp and Delft in 1525, see *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis Neerlandicae*, vol. IV, ed. P. Fredericq (Ghent, 1900), pp. 356–57; 376, 393. I would like to thank Alastair Duke for this reference.

2 Achim Dünnwald, *Konfessionsstreit und Verfassungskonflikt: Die Aufnahme der nierderländischen Flüchtelinge im Herzogtum Kleve 1566–1585* (Bielefeld, 1998), pp. 126–28.

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to the phenomenon in a variety of ways; there was no uniform organization.[3] Marcel Backhouse believed that the iconoclasm, at least in the Westkwartier of Flanders, appeared to have been suspiciously well organized.[4] He demonstrated that on this occasion the exiles in England were, yet again, connected to the unrest in the Westkwartier. Sebastian Matte had travelled over from England to preach before the Fury. Exasperated by the London stranger churches' ineffectual political attempts to free religious prisoners, militant Protestants had decided in the 1560s to take matters into their own hands and to use force to free Protestants held captive in the Low Countries. In 1566 some decided to go a step further and to purge the churches in preparation of these being used for Reformed worship. Migrants increasingly used the exile churches as a space where they might take refuge from conflict in the Low Countries. This coincided with a period when the minister Godfried van Winghen had little control over the Dutch congregation of London, which was in severe disarray between 1564 and 1568 because of internal conflicts. Arguments as to the best ways to promote the Reformed faith was probably just one characteristic of those conflicts. Andrew Pettegree described the attitude of the London Dutch Church towards direct action as ranging between "troubled acquiescence and direct opposition".[5] Some militant members left London to join the stranger churches in the provinces. Yet we should remember some members of the London consistory sympathized with their militant brethren or those nobles who were prepared to take up arms against the Habsburg regime.[6] Therefore this chapter examines to what extent the foreign churches were involved in the outburst of iconoclasm and its violent aftermath.

Unfortunately, there are no consistorial records for any of the foreign churches for the year 1566. For the French or Walloon churches there is also little evidence which shows their feelings towards iconoclasm. Both Protestants in the Low Countries as well as those in exile, and thus those who regularly travelled back and forth, would have heard sermons denouncing abuses in the Catholic church, including images, and condemning the secular government's attempts to outlaw Reformed theology. Especially where assemblies took place in secret in the Low Countries, such sermons must have contributed to the explosive situation of 1566. No sermons survive from the foreign churches in England for this period, so here, like in the previous chapter, I rely

3 For a detailed overview of iconoclasm in most of the Low Countries see Jozef Scheerder, *De Beeldenstorm* (Haarlem, 1977, 2008 edition); Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544–1569* (Cambridge, 1978, reissued 2008).

4 Backhouse, pp. 141, 146–47; Scheerder, *De Beeldenstorm*, pp. 21, 25.

5 Pettegree, "The Strangers and their Churches", pp. 276–77.

6 See chapter 5.

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on the ecclesiastical models the churches made use of; these were the writings springing from the Strangers' Church from the 1550s.[7] The writings of à Lasco, Utenhove, Deleene, and Micronius reflect the style and arguments used by other continental Reformed writings, especially in their admonitions to the government and echoes of Calvin's views concerning resistance. Van Winghen, however, stood out: he retained his vehement opposition to the use of violence for decades, thereby demonstrating an adherence to the values of orderliness and authority. For that reason, the stranger churches played only a limited role in 1566 itself and, as the rest of this chapter will demonstrate, the London foreign churches were at odds with stranger churches in the provinces. The church as an institution had theological and disciplinary, as well as political, reasons to be opposed to the violent removal of images in the Low Countries. This was the nature of their ambivalence towards the iconoclasm of 1566.

1 Reform and Resistance in International Perspective: A Struggle for Legitimacy

The struggle for legitimacy among Reformers in the Low Countries was not unique. We need to place the discourse about resistance and obedience in a broader context and therefore, this section will focus on iconoclasm, resistance, and exile from an international perspective as well as examine the Dutch writings on the issue of resistance, and in particular the authority of the Dutch stranger churches in London. The iconoclasm of 1566 was just one episode in a series of iconoclasms and rebellions across Reformation Europe. Evangelical preaching had already inspired rebellion and image breaking several times before in different places. Martin Luther condemned militant reactions to his thought such as the German Peasant's War and accused the preachers involved of being agitators. Luther supported the existing political order.[8] Other magisterial Reformers, such as Heinrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer, or John Calvin, and other Protestant thinkers, likewise advocated cooperation with the civil powers and opposed disorderly iconoclasm; and advised that it

7 With the exception of a sermon from Isbrand Balcke, which he wrote and rewrote fitting the occasion. See Frank van der Pol, *Mosterdzaad in ballingschap: Over christelijke identiteit en geloofsrepressie in de Nederlanden* (Kampen, 2007); Timothy G. Fehler, "Conflict and Compromise in International Calvinism: Ysbrand Trabius Balck's Pastoral Mediations in Exile and Beyond", *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 10:3 (2010), 291–313.

8 Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Vol. 2: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 208; Peter M.R. Stirk and David Wigall, *An Introduction to Political Ideas* (London, 1995), pp. 46–49, Document 2.3 Martin Luther on Authority.

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was better to go into exile than to incite rebellion. Yet, as we will see further, their teaching and writings inspired resentment against secular and ecclesiastical authorities from those of their followers who stayed behind in places where persecution reigned.[9]

John Calvin opposed the use of images since they distracted from spiritual devotion, which he believed was the only true way to worship.[10] Just like Martin Luther, Heinrich Bullinger, and Huldrych Zwingli, Calvin vehemently preached against idols. Most magisterial Reformers did not attribute any agency to the images themselves; they believed that images did not contain any inherent danger but considered that the mere presence of religious images would seduce Christians into worshipping them as idols.[11] Yet these Reformers also believed that governments or Reformers with governmental oversight should remove these images, 'idols', in an orderly fashion. The idea fitted in with the Pauline biblical emphasis on obedience to the secular order which they believed God had instituted in the world.[12] They therefore opposed violent iconoclasm and believed that only secular magistrates could remove or approve the removal of the images from churches, because this would maintain the secular order which God had instituted.[13] Violent iconoclasm violated the idea of order and uniformity within their theology since it would lead people to oppose the power on earth which they believed God had given to the secular government. God had ordained kings with power. Violence would consequently have undermined the position of religious authority which they had claimed. Encouraging violent iconoclasm would have been a suicidal policy for the Reformers, since this would have turned the existing secular government against them; any association with the mobs would have undermined

9 M.E.H.N. Mout, "Armed resistance and Calvinism during the revolt of the Netherlands", in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium* (Exeter, 30 August–3 September, 1988), eds. Johannes van den Berg and Paul G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), pp. 57–68; Robert M. Kingdon, "Was the Protestant Reformation a Revolution? The case of Geneva", in *Church, Society and Politics. Papers read at the Thirteenth Summer Meeting and Fourteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1975), pp. 203–22; Carlos M.N. Eire, *War against the Idols. The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge/New York, 1986) gives a good synthesis, see pp. 270–71 in particular. Camion Clément, "The Right of Resistance in Calvin and the Monarchomachs", *Ithaque – Revue de Philosophie de l'Université de Montréal*, 5, (2009), 1–25; James Noyes, *The Politics of Iconoclasm* (London/New York, 2013); Donald R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge, 1982).

10 Eire, *War against the Idol*, p. 200.

11 Ibid., pp. 92–93, 70–71, 74, 227.

12 Ibid., pp. 92–93, 265–66, 268.

13 Ibid., pp. 71, 92–93, 265–66, 268, 269, 288.

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their credibility.[14] While militant Reformers prepared to overturn the existing social order to achieve their aims, magisterial Reformers concentrated on promoting religious change. John à Lasco, Jan Utenhove, Peter Deleene, Martin Micronius, and Godfried van Winghen adopted the view of the magisterial Reformers.

Iconoclasts in the Low Countries, like elsewhere, however, were not motivated to attack the images on account of their religious sensibilities. They had other reasons. The division between the magisterial reformers and militants could also be traced to the old idea of a class struggle which has left its mark on the historiography of the Dutch Revolt.[15] Scholars have interpreted iconoclasm in a variety of ways. The timing of the image breaking and target of the destruction was clearly connected with the subversion of the authority and legitimacy of the civil powers.[16] Analysis of the role of politics and religion in the Dutch Revolt has formed the basis of many discussions on the character and the causes of the revolt.[17] Scholarly interpretations of the motives of the image breakers have ranged widely. Some have emphasized the socioeconomic circumstances, while others have highlighted the cultural and religious imagery.[18] Phyllis Mack Crew has demonstrated both the social diversity of the iconoclasts and their relative crude understanding of the theology of images.[19] At the same time, scholars have recently invested the actions of the iconoclasts with symbolic meanings. For France, Natalie Zemon Davis has

14 Ibid., p. 168.

15 See Erich Kuttner, *Het hongerjaar 1566* (Amsterdam, 1949); Herman Van der Wee, "The Economy as a Factor in the Start of the Revolt in the Southern Netherlands", *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae*, 5 (1971) 52–67.

16 Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca/London, 2008), pp. 92, 120; see also Alastair Duke's "Calvinists and 'Papsist Idolatry': The Mentality of the Image-breakers in 1566", in *Dissident identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, eds. Alastair Duke, Judith Pollmann, and Andrew Spicer (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 179–197 (p. 184), which is not entirely in agreement with Arnade.

17 Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Harmondsworth, 1977, revised edition 1985); Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca/London, 2008); Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt* (Cambridge, 1992 revised edition 2002); Denis Crouzet, "Calvinism and the Uses of the Political and the Religious (France, ca. 1560–ca. 1572)", in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585*, eds. by Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop, and Marc Venard (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 99–113; Marcel Backhouse, "Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen in het Westkwartier (1566–1568). Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de godsdiensttroebelen der Zuidelijke Nederlanden in de XVI^{e} eeuw", *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Kortrijk*, n.s., 38 (Middelburg, 1971), pp. 5–173 (pp. 61–62).

18 Kuttner, *Het hongerjaar 1566*; Van der Wee, "The Economy".

19 Crew, *Calvinist Preaching*.

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provided a more intricate understanding of the religious violence and the rites connected to this violence, while also emphasizing the sense of religious pollution resulting in confessional strife. Denis Crouzet soon after emphasized the importance of eschatological motives.[20] Following the studies of Bob Scribner and Lee Palmer Wandel which emphasized the highly ritualized behaviour of rioters' violence in Swiss and German territories, Arnade has similarly pointed out comparable rites of inversion in Flemish iconoclasm, where it was also motivated by a visceral hatred of persecutions.[21]

Religion nonetheless remained at the forefront of iconoclasm according to Alastair Duke. He emphasized religious emotions as iconoclasts combined theologically inspired hostility towards icons with a desire to overthrow a "perverted" religious order.[22] Andrew Spicer's study on iconoclasm in Le Cateau-Cambrésis shows a mixture of such reasons. Iconoclasm served several purposes: it brought about the purification of churches necessary for Reformed worship to take place, it refuted the Catholic mass, as well as providing opportunities for looting. However, Spicer pointed out, no evidence suggests that symbols of the archbishop's authority, their sovereign prince, had been attacked.[23] Yet, already in the 1980s, David Freedberg pointed out another potential dimension to iconoclasm, that is the power of the attacked images, as iconoclasts described the use of images as satanic.[24] In line with

20 Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France", *Past and Present*, 59 (1973), 51–91; see also *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and Early Modern France*, Past and Present suppl. 7, eds. Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts, and Andrew Spicer (Oxford, 2012); Denis Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu: La violence aux temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525–vers 1610*, 2 vols (Seyssel, 1990).

21 Peter Arnade, "The Rage of the 'Canaille': The Logic of Fury in the Iconoclasm Riots of 1566", in *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th–16th century)*, Studies in Urban History 5 (1100–1800), eds. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruane (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 93–111; see also Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands. Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge/New York, 1995), who pointed out the problems with a two-tiered approach towards iconoclasm, that is research on elite and popular behaviours; Bob Sribner, "Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down", *Social History*, 3 (1978), 303–29.

22 Alastair Duke, "Calvinists and 'Papist Idolatry': The Mentality of the Image-breakers in 1566", in *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, eds. Alastair Duke, Judith Pollmann, and Andrew Spicer (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 179–197 (p. 189), also printed as "De Calvinisten en de 'paapse beeldendienst': De Denkwereld van de beeldenstormers in 1566", in *Mensen van de nieuwe tijd. Een liber amicorum voor A. Th. van Deursen*, ed. M. Bruggeman (Amsterdam, 1996), pp. 29–45.

23 Andrew Spicer, "Iconoclasm on the Frontier: Le Cateau-Cambrésis, 1566", in *Iconoclasm from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. Marina Prusac, Kristine Kolrud (Farnham, 2014), pp. 119–37 (pp. 131–32).

24 David Freedberg, *Iconoclasts and Their Motives* (Maarssen, 1985).

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this thinking, the most recent research has focused on the objects the image breakers attacked. An issue of the *Low Countries Historical Journal* was devoted to the dialectics between iconoclasts and the images as well as to the Catholic side of the dispute.[25] In the same issue, Judith Pollman pointed out that after the Iconoclasm, Reformers struggled to place the violence.[26] As we will see in the following chapter, many people in the foreign churches also struggled with this in the years afterwards while an elder condemned iconoclasts for confusing spiritual liberty with worldly liberty.[27] Pollman showed that both Catholics and Protestant sides tended to anonymize the iconoclasts, dismissing these as rabble or depicting them as foreigners.[28] For their part, the secular authorities condemned the iconoclasts as guilty of lèse-majesté and framed iconoclasm as the work of seditious, disorderly traitors and thieves, deliberately minimizing their religious motives.[29]

This image of the iconoclasts as foreigners, which opens up the possibility of there being a connection between iconoclasm and refugees, deserves careful consideration as an element in Habsburg governmental propaganda. Yet, their direct and indirect influences can be examined in two ways: first in their direct involvement in iconoclasm as we will see in the next section, and secondly in their influences in the decades before the Fury. The presence of the Strangers' Church in Edward VI's England and its subsequent dispersal strengthened the Reformed movement in the Low Countries in the years leading up to the 1566 iconoclasm. According to Reformer Martin Micronius, many refugees could have stayed in London under Mary but chose to leave to find a place where they had freedom of faith. They preferred to leave London, despite the opportunities there of employment, to protect their religious identity.[30] Theologically they framed this exile in various ways; seeing exile as a part of life, a pilgrimage, leading to the heavenly home.[31] Calvin used the

25 Issue 131:1 (2016) of the *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* focused on this subject.

26 Judith Pollmann, "Iconoclasts Anonymous: Why did it take Historians so long to Identify the Image-Breakers of 1566?", *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 131:1 (2016), 155–76.

27 See reference to Johannes Enghelram in chapter 5.

28 Pollmann, "Iconoclasts Anonymous", p. 161.

29 Violet Soen, "The *Beeldenstorm* and the Spanish Habsburg Response (1566–1570)" *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 131:1 (2016), 99–120 (105–6).

30 Martin Micronius, *Een waerachteghe historie van Hoste* (*gheseyt Jooris*) *vander Katelyne, te Ghendt om het vry opentlick straffen der afgodische leere, ghebrandt ten grooten nutte ende vertroostinghe aller Christenen gheschreven. Waer in ghehandelt werdt vander Misse* (Emden, [1556]), fols 14–15.

31 On ecclesiology, see Judith Becker, "Reformierter 'Gemeindeaufbau' in Westeuropa: Zur Verbreitung calvinischer Ekklesiologie", in *Calvin und Calvinismus: Europäische Perspektiven*, eds. Irene Dingen and Herman Selderhuis (Göttingen, 2011), pp. 263–280;

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biblical example of David, among the Israelites, as an example of exile. Rather than seeking revenge for Saul's unrighteous persecution, David went into exile.[32] Yet Reformers in the Low Countries, however, decided to live under the Cross, professing their faith in secret rather than go into exile.

Just like each confession developed interpretations of and gave meaning to the notion of exile, religiously-motivated violence and resistance were not a new phenomenon. While in France in 1562 the Massacre of Vassy marked the start of the French Wars of Religion, in the Holy Roman Empire the Augsburg Interim also brought tension. The Augsburg and Leipzig Interims had scared Lutheran movements, despite the Magdeburg Confession. Not all Lutherans were willing to accept the Augsburg Interim which Charles V sought to impose. Theologians at Magdeburg opposed the religious consequences of the Interim and called on the emperor to reconsider their case.[33] They believed that the Lutherans had not received a fair hearing. As well as explaining the theological standpoints of the Magdeburg opposition, the Confession justified for the first time resistance to tyrannical secular governments. As Lutherans formed part of the good in the world, fighting the evil, Charles V, according to the Confession, had forsaken his divinely-ordained imperative to rule by persecuting or terrorizing the Lutherans and thus breaking godly order. It was a protest against the increasing absolutism in political and religious matters of worldly powers and resistance from inferior magistrates was seen as a solution; yet this theory did not allow blind resistance and obedience still remained an important principle.[34] Based on Luther's doctrine of the Two Kingdoms, which consisted of his rule over a secular and a spiritual world separating Gospel and Law, the Magdeburg Confession pointed out that while pastors had the calling to admonish, inferior magistrates had the task of resisting.[35] The Peace of Augsburg, which allowed more local control over religion, reduced the confessional tensions. But since the Low Countries were not party to this

for pilgrimage see Mirjam G.K. van Veen, "'… wir sind ständig unterwegs …': Reformierte Flüchtlinge des 16. Jahrhunderts als Exulanten", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History* 109 (2018), 442–58.

32 Nevada Levi DeLapp, *The Reformed David(s) and the Question of Resistance to Tyranny: Reading the Bible in the 16th and 17th centuries* (London, 2014), pp. 14, 19–54.

33 Thomas Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur: Lutherischer Protestantismus in der zweiten Hälfte des Reformationsjahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2006); Thomas Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation; Magdeburgs "Herrgotts Kanzlei" (1548–1551/2)* (Tübingen, 2003); R.G. Kuhn, "Bekennen und verwerfen: Westphals Ringen um Luther und Melanchthon" (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2017).

34 David M. Whitford, *Tyranny and Resistance: the Magdeburg Confession and the Lutheran tradition* (St. Louis, MO, 2001), pp. 68–69, 80.

35 Whitford, *Tyranny and Resistance*, pp. 70–71.

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treaty which only concerned the Holy Roman Empire, the tensions there were not dissipated.

The strangers, who attempted to strike a careful balance between obedience and resistance to inferior magistrates, yet also used images of good versus evil in which God's elect was always plagued by misfortune and persecution from civil authorities. Beza held similar views. He expressed his subversive ideas in his 1574 *Du Droits des Magistrats*. Here he abandoned the cautious approach of Calvin, espousing more direct theories of revolt against tyrants, where revolt is legitimate if led by nobles, as only nobles had the God-given authority to resist and thus resistance remained godly and orderly, while common people did not have this right. Common people could defend themselves against a tyrant only when a 'Davidic' lesser magistrate called them to arms.[36] This was to exercise an important influence on the development of William of Orange's ideology as Orange was both a former persecuted fugitive and a lower magistrate.

Despite the persecution becoming more intense, all attempts to suppress the Reformed faith in the Low Countries proved vain. The culmination of tensions resulted in violence, iconoclasm, and resistance to secular and religious authorities. These reactions had revolutionary implications since changes in religion disturbed the traditional religious hierarchy by replacing the Catholic Church and its supporters with Protestant authorities. Nonetheless, the stranger churches' official aversion to violence was genuine, as mentioned.[37] The deep-seated discontent in the Low Countries over persecutions when combined with ambiguous writings against the government formed fertile ground for acts of resistance. Individual consistory members have left publications concerning discipline within the Strangers' Church. Just like the writings of other Reformers in Europe, their publications displayed a paradoxical attitude towards violence, obedience, and iconoclasm; their writings were at one and the same time both contradictory and vague on the subjects. They were vague because they did not discuss the matter in a direct manner, and contradictory because while they indirectly agitated the public, at the same time they attempted to stop their readers from taking immediate action. Considering that iconoclasm had taken place in most Protestant countries between 1520 and 1560, the Iconoclastic Fury of the Low Countries came rather late. However, these writings and their ambivalence did fit into a larger Protestant discussion concerning violence, and especially reflected Calvin's views on violence.

The discussion about the relationship between church and state in the writings of the Dutch Protestants connected to the Strangers' Church reflected

36 DeLapp, *The Reformed David(s)*, pp. 63–64.

37 See chapter 3.

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Calvinist thought on these matters. They too believed that the government served a godly function analogous to the exercise of discipline in the Reformed congregation. John à Lasco understood the body of Christ to be a metaphor for community.[38] Emphasizing the necessity of a government for a nation, Utenhove and Micronius used the visual language of the body when describing the welfare of a state in a pamphlet written in the early 1550s and published in 1558:

> The Godly welfare of a country, beloved brothers, to my understanding, is mostly dependent on three things: namely the godliness of the Government, the righteousness of the teachers or servants of Gods' word, and the upkeep of Christian schools. Without these three elements, it is not possible for the things to go well in the country to which these three elements belong. Because concerning the first of these elements, it is well known that the Government of a territory forms the country, and that it is the stomach of the human body, by which, similarly, the entire body is being fed, and so it cannot live without it. In similar fashion, no territory can exist without Government; because widespread misery, perversion, and corruption of the human nature needs to be regulated by political [...] government.[39]

It would be possible to interpret a denunciation of the government of the Low Countries as giving approval to resistance. Yet to read it in this way would be to interpret it in the light of the Revolt and iconoclasm. Utenhove and Micronius attempted to occupy the moral high ground against the Low Countries' government. As their argument developed, it became apparent that they believed things were not going well in the Low Countries, using the metaphor of a sick body to describe the state of their home country:

> But if it is not enough for the upkeep of the health of a body to have a stomach unless it is in good and healthy condition, it is similarly not enough to have a Government for a country unless it is godly and wise. Otherwise it is truly unbearable to be ruled by such a Government: and it is a true punishment from God for the sins of the people, when it is

38 John à Lasco, Martin Micronius, Jan Utenhove, *Een corte ende clare bekentenisse Ioannis a Lasco, van de Ghemeinschap, die wy met Christo den Heere hebben: Ende ooc insgelycx, van de wyse, op de welcke, d'Lichaem Christi, in d'Nachtmael ons aengebrocht werdt* ([Emden?], [1560]), fol. 6–6 v.

39 Martin Micronius, Jan Utenhove, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere, diemen te Londen, in den Duydtsche Ghemeynte was ghebruykende* (Emden, 1558), fol. 3.

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> subjected to ungodly Governments. Yet, on the other hand it is a large, unbelievable blessing from God for a country to have a wise Government and a strong and stable population.[40]

The writings of Utenhove and Micronius encouraged their readers to distrust the government. Yet this distrust formed part of a rhetorical strategy which sought to reinforce the sense of their own righteousness. This strategy included talking about the importance of trustworthy church governance and contrasting it with the distrust towards the government. The metaphor of the sick body was commonly used among secular authorities in France and the Netherlands to describe a country plagued with Protestants.[41] Yet in this passage they point out that the sickness ruining the country was the result of the government's own intolerance and loyalty to Catholicism.

Later in the text, Utenhove discussed the virtues of the English king Edward VI, whose rule he interpreted as a blessing from God. As Utenhove wrote the pamphlet during his stay in London, it is much more likely that he regarded voluntary migration, rather than violence, as the correct response to a hostile government.[42] As in May 1550 Antwerp acknowledged the receipt of a placard from Brussels which demanded that Protestants leave the country, many Protestants must have complied with the government.[43] The authors emphasized that the "Dutch nation" had never before had a congregation in which "the Word was preached more purely, the Sacraments carried out more sincerely, and the Christian punishment exercised more loyally than in ours".[44] This blessing, they proclaimed, "came from a foreign prince" as their "natural prince refused" such cooperation, thus "sickening" the country as the people's

40 Ibid., fol. 4.

41 It was also common among people on all sides of the religious conflict in France, as in the rest of Europe, to see religious dissent as pollution of which they needed to be cleaned, see Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence". Similarly, Geert Janssen has shown that Catholics from the Low Countries similarly believed that Protestant dissent was "an infection of the body social". This was, according to Janssen, one of the reasons why Catholics in Reformation-dominated areas chose exile and the consequent social isolation. Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 51. The Reformed strangers, too, played with similar ideas, as they went into exile and the churches did not allow members to attend Catholic services, even weddings, if they did venture to travel back to the Low Countries. Others believed, after Tertullian, that persecution was a blessing from God in order to test their faith, so flight would be disobedient.

42 à Lasco, Utenhove, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere*, fol. 6.

43 "Personen te Antwerpen", 8, p. 389.

44 à Lasco, Utenhove, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere*, fol. 8.

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hatred of the "popish religion" and Philip's refusal to embrace the Reformed faith led "poor uninstructed people" to embrace heretical beliefs.[45] In such an account, Philip himself had appeared to encourage "heretical" thought in the Low Countries, by which Utenhove probably meant Anabaptism, though of course Philip also regarded Calvinists as heretics. The authors argued that hatred against the "papal religion" had also caused people to dismiss "the good elements in the Church of Rome" in exchange for heretical ideas which were "the seeds of Satan". In this way, the writers not only saw themselves as part of God's elect but also implied that the persecution of those they believed to be 'heretics' was necessary.[46] Further on, they explained why they considered religious images to be problematic, after which they discussed persecutions initiated by the state and how people should react towards these persecutions:

> Will that injustice never be revenged? We think the following: Yes, but you will not wish so for that matter, instead you should pray for your enemies, and let God proceed in his ordinance. Revenge belongs to Him, and in time He will not let the evil go unpunished. [...] Will the injustice on earth not be revenged by any human? Answer. God has ordinated the Government for this purpose, that they will in his place, as his godly servants, keep out and punish all injustice, violence, and impropriety, as well as blasphemy, in God's honour, to maintain [...] the piety in the congregation. [...] Does the Government then not break this commandment from time to time? Answer. Yes, too liberally so, because they too are murderers, if they do not punish justly, and only in order to serve their office, but for their own vengeance or avarice, either by letting others spill the blood, or by not diligently preventing it where they are allowed to do so or can do so.[47]

Through these writings, these Reformed authors demonstrate the origins of the paradox between the London stranger churches' emphasis on obedience and their own members' tendency towards militancy and violent behaviour. They opposed violence and vengeance by saying that God would eventually take revenge and that the government was one means through which God could do so, but at the same time they accused the government of abusing its office, and thus sinning against the Commandments. However unjust a government might be, punishment belonged to God, not man. This emphasis

45 Ibid., fol. 9–10.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid., fol. 33–4.

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on godly authority was intended to encourage obedience towards the consistory. Adriaan van Haemstede, the London Dutch Church's minister from 1559 to 1560, pointed out that Christians should obey civil government, because in that way they also complied with God's government.[48] Despite this, and like Calvin, he reminded the readers that "God should be obeyed above men".[49] We find similar opinions on violence and authority in the *Short Examination*, a catechism published in Emden in 1559 intended to discover the religious views of new members to the London Dutch Church. This publication emphasized the right of the government to kill "bad people" since the government was a godly institution and "served God".[50] In the Catechism Utenhove and Micronius emphasized that the government ought to kill "bad" people, such as criminals and heretics.[51]

Micronius also referred to the secular government in his pamphlet of 1556 on the execution of his friend Joris vander Katelijne, also called Hoste. In addition to a history of the latter's life and death, he also included an "Admonition to the Government".[52] Yet it was not just the secular government that Micronius blamed for the execution of Reformers throughout his work. He opened the prologue of his work by discussing the "deplorable murder of Christians, which happens nowadays daily in the Roman Church", for much of the persecution happened through church authorities.[53] This he repeated again two pages later where he talked about the importance of recording the death of the martyrs in the early Christian churches, "whose example we ought to follow in these end times (when so many devout Christians in all countries die for the truth because of the tyranny of the Church of Rome)".[54] Near the end of the pamphlet, however, the discourse became more subversive. Micronius claimed that God would punish persecutors because the Government, by killing Christian martyrs, did not follow God's ordained laws. He believed that God would punish the country and that the end times were nearing, thus creating fear.[55]

48 Wilhelm G. Goeters, "Documenten van Adriaan van Haemstede, waaronder eene gereformeerde geloofsbelijdenis van 1559", *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, n.s., 5:1 (1907), 1–64 (p. 59).

49 Ibid., p. 59.

50 à Lasco, Delenus, Micronius, *Een korte ondersoeckinghe des gheloofs, ouer de ghene die haer tot de Duydtsche Ghemeynte: die te Londen was, begeuen wouden. Uutghestelt door de Dienaers der selver* (Emden, 1559), fol. G.

51 Micronius, Utenhove, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere*, fols 33–4.

52 Micronius, *Een Waerachteghe Historie*, fols 56–60v.

53 Ibid., fol. 3 of the 'Voorreden', which is the foreword.

54 Ibid., fol. 4 of the 'Voorreden', which is the foreword.

55 Ibid., fol. 16.

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At one point, Micronius directly warned the government, advising that it had better change its attitude towards the "true Christians" if it wanted to stay in power. It needed, in his opinion, to stop killing Christians; instead, they should follow the biblical example of Nicodemus who "honestly" honoured God above people.[56] Micronius contrasted Nicodemus's behaviour with that of the "bishops, priests, and friars" who helped create fear and tyranny.[57] He might have been referring to Nicodemus's plea to his fellow Pharisees to investigate and listen to Jesus before making a judgement concerning him. This was what Micronius advised magistrates to do concerning the Reformed faith. This narrative about Nicodemus fitted well with the message he was trying to convey to the government, that it should listen to the Reformers.

His appreciation of Nicodemus should not be mistaken for advocating Nicodemism in the Reformation period. Protestants faced with opposition from the government had only a few options. They could return to Catholicism, abjuring their Protestant ideas. Or they could also stay and risk martyrdom, standing firm in the face of the ensuing punishment for not recanting their ideas, which was usually execution. Martyrdom would become an index of spiritual strength among Protestant movements as it was later also among Catholics who were put to death during the Revolt where rebels were in control. Most people, however, could not live up to the ideal of martyrdom and went into exile, either before or after authorities had discovered their ideas. Another option was to dissemble. This meant hiding one's true faith in public, while outwardly conforming with Catholicism. Such behaviour was also called Nicodemism, after the biblical figure of Nicodemus who only went to Jesus to listen to his ideas and teachings by night, under cover of darkness. But for those who were unable to go into exile or who did not want to be condemned as Nicodemites, the only other option was resistance.

Calvin in particular wrote various tracts against Nicodemism.[58] In 1544 Valerand Poullain encouraged Calvin to write another tract to bring comfort

56 Ibid., fol. 58. Nicodemus showed respect and recognition for Jesus despite his status as Pharisee.

57 Ibid., fol. 55v.

58 Protestants initially had used this term as an honourable defence of this option for Protestants suffering from political opposition against and persecution of their beliefs. The term also existed among German Protestants suffering from the Augsburg and Leipzig Interims. While Nicodemism generally refers to simulation, a more precise and practical interpretation of the term and groups referred to can vary. See Carlos M.N. Eire, "Calvin and Nicodemism: A Reappraisal", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 10:1 (1979), 44–69 (pp. 46–47). See also Mirjam van Veen's work on Nicodemism and Libertines, among which *'Verschooninghe van de roomsche afgoderye'. De polemiek van Calvijn met nicodemieten, in het bijzonder met Coornhert* (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,

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to believers because he had noted that Protestants in the Low Countries had found it difficult to come to terms with Calvin's hard stance against dissimulation. While Calvin did not soften his opinion about dissembling, his 1544 tract shows that Calvin did not condemn the biblical figure of Nicodemus, but he thought the so-called Nicodemists unworthy of the name.[59] Calvin accepted the name in this aforementioned treatise only hesitantly as he believed that Nicodemus eventually did become an honourable Christian by displaying his beliefs openly at Jesus's burial.[60]

Dissembling achieved the opposite of martyrdom as it showed a lack of commitment outwardly, or even compromise with the Catholic Church.[61] Martyrdom was also given prominence in Micronius's pamphlet concerning Hoste, which circulated in the Low Countries. Micronius himself does not show any reason to be suspicious of his invocation of this figure. Micronius emphasized the stoic qualities of people instructing in the 'True Knowledge', invoking the example of his friend Joris vander Katelijne, or Hoste, who had been put to death. Hoste had been a member of the Strangers' Church in London, and a craftsman. He left for the Continent with other Reformers on the accession of Mary. For unknown reasons he travelled to his native city Ghent in 1555, where a Catholic preacher caught his attention and he ended up attending the latter's church service. Hoste publicly rebuked the preacher of the Augustinian order at the end of the service and invited him for a discussion. Soon after this event the city authorities imprisoned and executed Hoste.[62] Micronius

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Houten, 2001); *De kunst van het twijfelen. Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563): humanist, calvinist, vrijdenker* (Zoetermeer, 2012). For more on Nicodemism see Carlo Ginzburg, *II Nicodemismo: Simulazione e dissimulazione religiosa nell'Europa del '500* (Turin, 1970), who argued that Nicodemism was a unified movement across Europe, even though Eire contested this; Peter Matheson, "Martyrdom or Mission? A Protestant Debate", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 80 (1989), 158–65; Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1990); Nikki Shepardson, "The Rhetoric of Martyrdom and the Anti-Nicodemite Discourses in France, 1550–1570", *Renaissance and Reformation*, n.s., 27:3 (2003), 37–61.

59 See the tract John Calvin, *Excuse de Jehan Calvin, a Messieurs les Nicodemites, sur la complaincte qu'ilz font de sa trop grand'rigueur* (1544), written against the reaction to his previous tract *Petit Traicté monstrant que c'est que doit faire un homme fidèle congnoissant la vérité de l 'Evangile, quand il est entre les Papistes (1543)*; Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (Yale, 2009, paperback edition 2011), pp. 190–92.

60 Eire, "Calvin and Nicodemism", pp. 46–47.

61 Ibid., pp. 37–61. See also Carlos M.N. Eire, "Prelude to Sedition? Calvin's Attack on Nicodemism and Religious Compromise", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 76 (1985), 120–45 for Calvin's theological and political reasons for opposition to Nicodemism.

62 Micronius, *Een Waerachteghe Historie*, fols *3–*4 of the 'Voorreden', which is the foreword, and fols 1–5.

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depicted Hoste as part of an elite circle who understood the Reformed faith, practising and explaining it patiently. This, he believed, stood in stark contrast to those who, even when part of a Reformed community and while hearing the Reformed faith preached, did not value or even abused the revelation of the Reformed Evangelical thought.[63] Micronius praised Hoste's good understanding of Reformed theology, which he would discuss and instruct in a friendly, modest, and patient manner, sometimes in writing. Micronius contrasted Hoste's way of teaching with the way "many nowadays do so with envy, shouting, screaming, shouting abuse, damning and judging".[64] Hoste, he pointed out, was a very peaceful man and not a "seditious agitator".[65] The importance of his defence against accusations of agitation fits into a Calvinist pattern. Calvin composed his *Institutes* partly in defence of Reformed thought against those who accused the Reformers of being agitators.[66] Although he defended Hoste's public dispute in this polemic, Micronius also warned his readers against verbal and physical attacks:

> With this, however, we do not want to teach that it is permissible to challenge any preacher openly, thoughtlessly and in a disorderly way in the meeting. Because from this large agitation, tumult and destruction would certainly arise, and God, who is a God of orderliness and not of quarrel, wants all things to take place adequately and orderly for the advance of his church.[67]

Furthermore, he pointed out that "the Holy Spirit teaches us through the Apostle Paul that all things in the Congregations should happen in an orderly and edifying way".[68] Yet he continues this statement by explaining that the interruption of ministers in Reformed churches, where evangelical teaching was explained properly to adherents and there were opportunities for prophesying, would be deemed disorderly and not allowed. As Catholic priests, he believed, did no such thing, it was only right to correct them if a believer received a godly mandate to do so, with godly zeal, not blindly with "rashness, haughtiness, or vanity".[69] Micronius spoke critically concerning the government of the Low Countries, whom he saw as led astray by malice, here thinking of Roman

63 Ibid., fol. 2.
64 Ibid., fol. 3.
65 Ibid., fols 13v, 22.
66 Gordon, *Calvin*, p. 57.
67 Micronius, *Een Waerachteghe Historie*, fol. 54 v.
68 Ibid., fol. 55.
69 Ibid., fols 54–59.

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Catholicism. He claimed that "inferior magistrates", for instance executioners, should not obey the demand for persecution of "true Christians" out of fear of higher authorities by saying that this would harm their consciences. He compared the executioners and lower authorities to Pontius Pilate, who reluctantly crucified Jesus.[70]

In relation to this attitude of spiritual discipline, the writings of the Reformers emphasised total obedience to God, and therefore also to religious and secular authorities.[71] Punishment, such as public confessions of guilt, formed an important means to make sure people observed this obedience to God, as Utenhove and Micronius confirmed.[72] Van Haemstede also wrote that the Reformers' suffering and martyrdom, through punishment and persecution, formed part of a tradition of a struggle between good and evil in the world. Reformers were on the side of the good in the world, and should not fight their destiny, even if this meant being put to death. Van Haemstede explained this position in his book of martyrs.[73]

While critical of the government, the Reformers attempted to emphasize their own righteousness and moderation. Utenhove, Micronius, à Lasco, and van Winghen voiced the grievances of the refugees against the persecutions in the Low Countries, while at the same time condemning any violent action against the government by pointing out political and spiritual means of combatting the perceived ignorance of Philip II and his advisors. The churches under the Cross in the Low Countries could not afford to oppose secular and religious authorities violently because of their illegal position. Had they behaved violently, they would have become troublemakers and secular authorities would have more harshly suppressed the Reformers, especially in places where there were no Reformers among the elite. As Micronius had also pointed out, obedience nonetheless remained an important value, especially when he tried to defend the authority of Reformed ministers. The Reformer Adriaan van Haemstede asserted that consistorial punishment through confession could facilitate obedience to God. As such, believers could form closer

70 Ibid., fol. 57–58. The theory of the 'lower magistrates' was not new, see van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, pp. 63–68, but he was one of the earliest Dutch Reformers to adopt the view.

71 In a short description of the Reformed ecclesiastical doctrine van Haemstede in his 1559 confession of faith emphasized this in his use of the phrase "*poenitentiam agite*, et: *appropinquat regnum coelorum*" ("Do penance" and: "the kingdom of heaven is near") in Goeters, "Dokumenten" p. 50.

72 Micronius, Utenhove, *De Catechismus, oft kinder leere*, fol. 16.

73 Adrianum Corn. Haemstedius, *De Gheschiedenisse ende den doodt der vromer martelaren, die om hete ghetuyghenisse des Euangeliums haer bloedt ghestort hebben, van den tijden Christi af, totten Jare M.D. lir toe, bij een vergadert op het fortste* (Antwerp, 1559), pp. iii v., 3.

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ties with God than when under Roman Catholic government. He called the close relationship with God resulting from the practice of Reformed principles a 'renewed obedience' to God.[74] The stress on obedience and tranquillity in the Presbyterian-style consistories of the stranger churches did not, however, translate very well into practice. While preaching obedience, the consistories struggled to keep their members under control, and some members of the Dutch Church believed that they had moved from one tyranny, the Catholic and secular government in the Low Countries, to another, the consistory.[75]

2 Division and Conflict among Reformers Concerning the Iconoclasm in 1566

Here I will contrast the official stance of the Dutch Church's towards iconoclasm and the actions of some of its members as well as the consequences for the functioning of the foreign churches, and, in particular, the Dutch Church. The interpretation of their religious writings assumed a more subversive character with the greater public. Refugees were involved in several violent incidents in the Westkwartier. As we have observed in the previous chapter, Sandwich was the main Reformed operational basis for the Westkwartier with immigrants travelling throughout the 1560s from France or England with the aim of converting the population.[76] From Sandwich exiled Reformers organized secret conventicles and public preaching in the region of the Westkwartier, and groups of refugees liberated fellow Reformers from prisons between 1560 and 1566.[77] But the Wesktwartier-Sandwich connection was also vital for the 1566 iconoclasm. The Compromise of the Nobility raised expectations for religious toleration and Backhouse found that hundreds of exiles travelled back to the Low Countries in 1566, helping to spread the Reformed movement.[78] Secular authorities noticed heightened Reformed activity in 1566. The city authorities of Ypres listed the Reformed meetings in the area that took place over the summer. By June 1566 the Reformed movement had become so popular in the Low Countries and especially in the area of Ypres that Reformers held sermons and meetings in several places in the countryside as well as in the cities and villages on a daily basis. These attracted very large crowds who often carried sticks and

74 Goeters, "Dokumenten", pp. 50–51.

75 Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 297; Acta, pp. 27, 29, 114, 119–20, 140, 146, 175, 232, 371, 405, 529; see also chapter 6 of the present volume, section 3.

76 Backhouse, p. 135.

77 Ibid., pp. 135, 144.

78 Ibid., p. 136.

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weapons.[79] Although many local governors turned a blind eye on these events, others thought them to be a conspiracy against the welfare and tranquillity of the country.[80] By September 1566, the castellany of Ypres had drafted regulations for the Calvinist sermons to take place alongside Catholic ones. The emphasis was not now on religion but on order. It wanted members from both the "old religion" and the "new religion" to respect each other and not to engage in fights. The council of the castellany thought it important that the Reformers respected trade regulations by only preaching on Sundays.[81]

Interpretations of what happened in Steenvoorde vary, however. Phyllis Crew, for instance, believed that the hedge preaching in the year 1566 started spontaneously, outside the control of the consistories, describing the events as popular demonstrations.[82] The armed hedge preaching, she asserted, took place peacefully as people walked to and from in orderly fashion. However, some of the ministers behaved provocatively. Anthonius Algoet and Jacob de Buyzere both entered the city of Ypres from opposite sides with respectively fifty and two thousand people and marched through the streets peacefully singing psalms.[83] Moreover, the Iconoclastic Fury started after Sebastiaan Matte's sermon when Jacob de Buyzere agitated the public near Steenvoorde on 10 August 1566. Matte and de Buyzere had travelled over from Sandwich.[84] De Buyzere originated from the Westkwartier and fled to London in 1560. By 1561 he took on the role of minister for the newly founded Flemish Reformed congregation in Sandwich.[85] The tensions in the Wesktwartier throughout the 1560s reveal an entire network of discontents. The local Reformers and some of the refugees began to offer open violent resistance from December 1566 onwards. A part of the nobility was fearful of the coming of the Spanish Inquisition and had political reasons to ally with the Reformers.[86] Later England would also be strategically used in a militant Reformers' guerrilla war

79 Stadsarchief Ieper, Kasselrij Ieper, Godsdiensttroebelen KAS 18 (Stadsarchief oude toegangen, 24), Troubles Religieux 1.

80 Ibid.

81 Stadsarchief Ieper, Kasselrij Ieper, Godsdiensttroebelen KAS 18 (Stadsarchief oude toegangen, 24), Troubles Religieux 5.

82 Crew, *Calvinist Preaching*, p. 7.

83 Ibid., p. 8.

84 Backhouse, p. 136.

85 Ibid., p. 137.

86 As Beemon explained, the Low Countries were expecting the Spanish Inquisition. This led to mistrust between the nobility and Philip's councillors. F.E. Beemon, "The Myth of the Spanish Inquisition and the Preconditions for the Dutch Revolt", *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte* 85 (1994), pp. 246–64.

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between 1566 and 1568 in which local nobility was involved.[87] Yet the involvement of members from refugee churches in the Iconoclastic Fury was not limited to Dutch and Flemish exiles. Less studied, but ubiquitously present in the Low Countries, were the Walloon Reformers. Southampton, for instance, became the residence of Walloon militants in the wake of 1566, especially those from the region of French Flanders.[88] Walerand Thevelin, the community of Southampton's first minister, was involved in iconoclasm and attended the synod at Ghent in October 1566 when the Three Million Guilders Request was discussed.[89] With this request, Reformed and Lutheran Protestants hoped to buy religious freedom from Philip II by promising to deliver three million guilders to him.[90]

Many of the prominent ministers preaching in 1566 had received training in either England or Geneva at some point.[91] One of the first ministers of the Dutch Reformed tradition who had written about the potential right of resistance in 1559, Petrus Dathenus, had been a member of the Strangers' Church and had also ministered in Frankfurt and Frankenthal, until 1566. Although his impact was large in the Low Countries, on account of the popularity of his psalms in contrast to those of Utenhove, his association with the London churches was limited to the period of Edward VI's reign.[92] Hundreds of Reformers associated with the London and Sandwich churches became militant in the 1560s. In London the pacifist side dominated, and in 1567 the pacifist consistory party was still larger than the opposition. Along with Jacob de Buyzere and Sebastiaan Matte, Gillis de Queeckere and Pieter Hazaert played very prominent roles in the violence and iconoclasm in the Westkwartier in 1566. As mentioned previously, they were preachers travelling between Sandwich and the Continent in 1562, when they were involved in prison breaking and advocated violent action. Hazaert's protégé, Jan Hendricx, who died in 1564, favoured iconoclasm and contemporaries described him as a violent and shameless

87 Backhouse, "Beeldenstorm en bosgeuzen"; J.A.C. De Meij, *De Watergeuzen en de Nederlanden, 1568–1572* (Amsterdam/London, 1972).

88 Spicer, pp. 12–13.

89 Ibid., p. 117.

90 Robert Van Roosbroeck, *Het Wonderjaar te Antwerpen (1566–1567): Inleiding tot de studie der godsdienstonlusten van den beeldenstorm af (1566) tot aan de inneming der stad door Alexander Farnees (1585)* (Antwerp, 1930), pp. 151–70; Aart A. Van Schelven, "Het verzoekschrift der 3.000.000 goudguldens (October 1566)", *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, 6:9 (1930), 1–40.

91 Crew, *Calvinist Preaching*, pp. 47–49.

92 Mout, "Armed resistance", p. 60.

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man.[93] Such radicalism was at odds with the moderation which the London Dutch Church advocated, and also with Pieter Carpentier's disapproval of the violent iconoclasm in 1566. He was a minister in the areas of Ghent and Tielt but had resided in London between 1560 and 1563.[94] Similarly, the Reformer Jan Lamoot, who became deacon in 1560 and two years later elder of the Dutch Church in London, returned to Flanders to preach in 1566. He too disapproved of violent iconoclasm and resistance; views he still maintained in 1571, though he had defended one case of prison breaking as a private act in 1562.[95]

Jacob de Buyzere and Sebastiaan Matte did not only initiate the iconoclasm near Steenvoorde on 10 August 1566 but also played a prominent role in subsequent resistance in the area. Backhouse stated that three hundred and fifty-three members of the Flemish congregation at Sandwich had been in some way involved in the troubles in the Westkwartier between May 1566 and April 1567.[96] The majority of them had moved to Sandwich after the iconoclasm; ninety-seven of these had moved from Sandwich back to Flanders after the Compromise but had returned to England by 1567.

Sebastiaan Matte preached near Steenvoorde after which de Buyzere incited the public against the use of images.[97] Matte had lived in both London and Sandwich. He helped to spread iconoclasm throughout the Westkwartier.[98] On 14 August, four days after Steenvoorde, Matte also preached in favour of iconoclasm at a sermon delivered in Poperinge where he claimed to be in possession of a, albeit false, royal letter permitting the cleansing of the churches.[99] Under his charge a group of Reformers set out what Backhouse has called a hiking tour, going from town to town to initiate the iconoclasm in the Westkwartier and French Flanders.[100] However, Backhouse mentioned that it seemed as if opinions on these actions differed among the foreign churches in

93 Johan Decavele, *De Dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen* (1520–1565), 2 vols, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België Jaargang 37, 76 (Brussels, 1975), vol. 1, p. 399.

94 Decavele, *De Dageraad*, 1, p. 408; Kerkeraads-protocollen, p. 247.

95 Decavele, *De Dageraad*, 1, pp. 409–10.

96 Backhouse, p. 149.

97 Solange Deyon and Alain Lottin, *Les Casseurs de l'été 1566: L'Iconoclasme dans le Nord* (Paris, 1981), p. 25.

98 Backhouse, "Beeldenstorm en Bosgeuzen", pp. 55–58.

99 Ludo Vandamme, "Revolt in the Westkwartier", in *Revolt and Emigration: Refugees from the Westkwartier in Sandwich in the XVIth Century*, ed. J. Decaestecker (Dikkebus, 1988), pp. 29–78 (p. 58).

100 Marcel Backhouse, "Dokumenten betreffende de godsdiensttroebelen in het Westkwartier: Jan Camerlynck en tien zijner gezellen voor de Ieperse vierschaar (1568–1569)", *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis*, 138 (1972), 79–381 (p. 100).

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England, as well as within Sandwich.[101] We know that this was the case for the London churches, which disapproved of violence. Similar division of opinions on iconoclasm existed within the consistory in Sandwich.[102] The iconoclasm was the work of a minority of militant members. The preachers had gained a considerable following and had nothing to lose from making their sermons more subversive. To the horror of the London stranger churches, the Reformed community of Antwerp also supported the radical message.

By December 1566 Philip responded more repressively. Local authorities were told to restrict the liberties the Reformers had gained over the previous few months, for instance the possibility to hold services. In the Ypres area, these restrictions provoked opposition. The bailiff of Ypres addressing Margaret of Parma spoke of a true "rebellion" and the obstinacy of the people of Ypres.[103] In cooperation with local nobles Reformers gathered troops, but government forces defeated the Reformed uprising at the start of January 1567.[104] Most of the Reformed leaders then left the Westkwartier for Antwerp, the northern Netherlands, France, Germany, or England.[105]

The involvement of consistories in the Iconoclastic Fury in other places in the Low Countries varied. In Antwerp the Dutch minister Moded was not opposed to resistance and although he did not lead the iconoclasm there, he did encourage it.[106] In Ghent a group of people had travelled from the Westkwartier to take part in iconoclasm.[107] There the Walloon minister Franciscus Junius attempted to avoid iconoclasm, since he believed only the secular government held the godly authority to remove the images.[108] In Middelburg the consistory had guided the iconoclasm on 22 August. They had hired people to carry out the iconoclasm and the consistory's scribe read out regulations for the iconoclasts which stipulated that they should not steal but rather hand over valuable pieces to the bailiff.[109] In the northern parts of the Low Countries the nobility usually initiated the iconoclasm and especially the violence in the

101 Backhouse, pp. 150–51.
102 Ibid., p. 151.
103 Stadsarchief Ieper, TR. REL. 13., fol. 1 v.
104 Backhouse, *Beeldenstorm en Geuzen*, pp. 80–81.
105 Ibid., p. 81.
106 Ibid., p. 54.
107 Ibid., pp. 66–7.
108 Junius, or du Jon, had studied theology in Geneva. On his moderate stance in terms of iconoclasm see Scheerder, *De Beeldenstorm*, p. 21; Jozef Scheerder, *Het wonderjaar te Gent 1566–1567*, eds. Johan Decavele and Gustaaf Janssens (Ghent, 2016), pp. 48, 76.
109 Paul Brusse, Wijnand Mijnhardt, and Katie Heyning, eds., *Geschiedenis van Zeeland. Dl. II: 1550–1700* (Zwolle, 2012) p. 221; C. Rooze-Stouthamer, *Hervorming in Zeeland* (*ca. 1520–1572*) (Goes, 1996), pp. 229–32.

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subsequent years.[110] The role of the Low Countries' nobility in resistance and iconoclasm that year was also visible in the criminal examinations of some prominent Wood Beggars in 1568 in the Westkwartier.[111] During 1567 and 1568 nobles in exile near Cologne also planned violent actions, for instance in support of Louis of Nassau.[112] Nobles in the German exile settlements played a significant role in Orange and Nassau's attacks those years, although, van Roosbroeck argued, the support of exiles in general was low as they had to maintain themselves and the poor.[113] Similar conclusions can be made about the foreign churches in England.

Opinions concerning the iconoclasm left their mark on the foreign churches in England for several years thereafter. Militancy was not only evident among the refugees returning to the Low Countries but also within the London Dutch Church in the 1560s, in contrast to the French Church. Since the discussions about the legitimacy of violence in 1562, arguments on various topics had so disturbed the Dutch community that it prevented the functioning of the church and undermined the moral authority of the consistory. The question of godparents, for instance, proved so divisive within the community that representatives of the Sandwich community and Grindal had to attempt to gather the community anew since a part of the community had forsaken the consistory.[114] Grindal's endeavour failed because

> many think that those who now serve, or preside over, the Netherlandish community, do everything to advance their own interest and power, and that they have influenced the bishop to such an extent that he has done everything at their persuasion and not according to his own judgment or knowledge.[115]

In 1564 Grindal, Cousin, John Fox, Jacob Calfhill, John Philpot and Christoph Koolman acted as mediators.[116] By September 1565 Francis Russell, the second Earl of Bedford, tried to resolve the quarrel, as an objective outsider. The Dutch consistory, in communication with Bedford, wrote that

110 Backhouse, "Beeldenstorm en Geuzen", p. 54.
111 Backhouse, "Dokumenten".
112 Robert van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten, Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Duitsland* (*1550–1600*) (Cologne, 1968), pp. 49–51.
113 Ibid., pp. 49–54.
114 Backhouse, "Dokumenten", pp. 35–36, 55.
115 Archivum, 2, Letter 80, p. 247.
116 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 92, pp. 36–40.

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> obedience and silence about the previous quarrels, as well from the pulpit as among the members should be imposed. And if anyone should cause new difficulties and persevere in them he shall, after having been warned once or twice by the brethren and at last the congregations, be cut off from the community and punished by the magistracy as a rebel.[117]

This quotation again demonstrates the importance of obedience and order but also serves as an example of the struggles the consistory of the Dutch Church went through to maintain the discipline in the congregation.

The deacons formed the largest group of opposition against the elders and minister during the quarrels in the Dutch Church between 1565 and 1568. The consistory wanted their opponents to recognize their faults and subversive behaviour but this only prolonged the conflict. A growing feeling of discontent within the congregation had partially provoked the strong opposition against official consistorial policies concerning godparents. The increasingly strict rules that the consistory applied in its investigation and approval of new members and handling of conflicts within the community increased this feeling of discontent.[118] The consistory had previously proved itself rigorous and intolerant towards van Haemstede and had not changed its strict enforcement of consistorial authority.[119] Pettegree believed that, unlike the consistory, there was sympathy within the congregation for people who professed opinions which the Dutch regarded as heretical.[120]

The search for order, obedience, and authority also shaped the way the Dutch Church reacted to persecutions in the Low Countries. Rather than advocating prison breaking, they attempted to influence the situation in political ways with the aim of freeing prisoners. In their search for legal recognition in Europe, political lobbying to release prisoners would not compromise their claim of ecclesiastical authority as much as violence would. Not everyone accepted this approach, and in combination with the godparents struggle, by the end of 1565 a number of members, in particular the deacons, had left the Dutch congregation and started meeting separately while others joined English churches.[121] Precisely how many people left, however, is not clear. It is likely that some members left the London congregation, especially towards

117 Archivum, 2, Letter 80, p. 247.

118 Andrew Pettegree, "The Strangers and their Churches in London, 1550–1580" (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1983), p. 287.

119 Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie: Ondergronds protestantisme in een handelsmetropool 1550–1577* (Amsterdam/Antwerp, 1996), p. 123.

120 Pettegree, "The Strangers and their Churches", pp. 288–91.

121 Ibid.

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the end of 1566 because van Winghen denounced the Iconoclastic Fury and subsequent violence. In 1567 Grindal condemned the members who had left the church as "restless and contumacious persons".[122] As we will see in the next chapter dealing with the aftermath of the Fury, one elder published a pamphlet denouncing the image breaking and castigating the former opposition party of the deacons.

Although many of the militant Reformers resided in Sandwich from where they planned their violent acts, the Flemish congregation at Sandwich was not entirely militant. The congregation argued over whether to support the cleansing of the churches or to condemn it as a violent act against the authorities. In fact, the majority of the consistory actually condemned iconoclasm and further armed resistance. Perhaps this explains why Norwich became a major centre for the intake of new refugees after 1566, whereas Sandwich shaped the Reformed movement in the Westkwartier before and during 1566. Raingard Esser believes that the condemnation of violence was the reason members migrated from Sandwich to Norwich; it was there that militants from the Low Countries chose to reside after 1566.[123] Some of the those in the vanguard in the troubles of 1566 became consistory members in Norwich. Nonetheless, the militants were still not able to dominate the Norwich Flemish congregation. We know that because in 1571 two militant ministers and their supporters rebuked another minister for expressing his disapproval of violent iconoclasm. When eventually the case came before Norwich's mayor, the latter asked militant members to leave Norwich.[124]

These internal tensions prevented the stranger churches from giving a clear lead to either the churches in the Low Countries or the provincial churches in England in respect of discipline or resistance. Around the time of the iconoclasm in the Low Countries, the Dutch Church was still divided. By then, the conflict had assumed an international character. In 1565 members of the Dutch Church had asked the church at Emden to give its ruling in the case of the godparents. The elder Jan Lamoot wrote from London to the Emden consistory concerning the quarrels. Emden rebuked both parties for quarrelling but declined to take sides.[125] Yet in January 1566 Emden was still trying to bring about peace within the London Dutch Church. Although it refused to take

122 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 112, pp. 55–56.

123 Raingard Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996), pp. 45–47, refers to Maidstone, Kent Archives, Sa/Ac5 The New Red Book, fol. 69.

124 Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, pp. 66–67.

125 *Die Kirchenratsprotokolle der Reformierten Gemeinde Emden 1557–1620. Teil I: 1557–1574*, eds. Heinz Schilling and Klaus-Dieter Schreiber (Cologne, 1989), pp. 212–13.

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sides officially, the consistory members did agree on several points with the opposition. They thought that some members of London's consistory party had behaved unreasonably by insisting that the opposition should apologize publicly.[126] Later in 1566 the question of armed resistance only served to aggravate the dispute. A few years later, in 1568, the Dutch Church drew up twenty-seven articles which it wanted the opposition to sign.[127] Pettegree interpreted these articles as autocratic and as an attempt to reestablish some authority over the members had who left the congregation by condemning those who opposed the consistory. In that way they could also reproach the provincial churches that took in former members from London.[128] The differences between the opposition in the provincial settlements and the consistory of the Dutch Church now came to a head. Interestingly, the last section of these articles contained an outright rejection of "any right of resistance to the authorities".[129] Even inferior magistrates were warned not to disobey the godly ruler, and thus God.[130] While this related to the civil powers in the Low Countries, the implication of this declaration was tantamount to a sharp condemnation of any resistance to the religious authority of the consistory.

In an attempt to strengthen its authority, the London Dutch Church addressed leading Reformed churches outside England. They therefore sent the articles to Emden, Berne, Zurich, and Geneva. London also sent two deputies to Geneva to discuss the articles, while Norwich dispatched Herman Moded, the former minister of Antwerp, to speak against the articles. Emden and Geneva reacted mostly favourably towards London and the articles though they had reservations about the tone of the articles. The churches of Zurich and Berne rebuked London and worked for reconciliation. Probably for this reason, the exile churches in England met later in 1568 and reached an agreement on the articles under the arbitration of the French Church of London. This reunited the London Dutch Church with its opposition and strengthened the relationship between Norwich and London. As part of the agreement, the long-awaited new elections for the London Dutch Church, which the opposition had urged, took place. By the end of the year, the Dutch Church also decided to take on a second minister to assist van Winghen. After Johannes Helmichius, who resided in Norwich and did not believe in political resistance, had turned down their call to assist van Wingen in London, they made the same request to

126 Ibid., 229–30.

127 Pettegree, "The Strangers and their Churches", p. 293, referring to *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, I: 1558–1567*, ed. Martin A.S. Hume (London, 1892), p. 690.

128 Ibid.

129 Ibid.

130 van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, pp. 100–101.

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George, also called Joris, Wybo, or Sylvanus.[131] He initially refused, but a little later he did take up the ministry of the Dutch Church alongside van Winghen. Wybo had fled from the Westkwartier to Antwerp around 1559 and been a minister in Antwerp from around 1562 until 1567. He was in favour of resistance.[132] Although this did cause some further tensions with van Winghen, it also meant a major change within the Dutch Church. It signified the first encroachment on the authority of van Winghen and slowly brought the Dutch Church more in line with the provincial churches and the churches in the Low Countries. In 1569 the Emden consistory resolved to send a letter to the Dutch Church to congratulate them on the stable situation and peace that the church and other churches in England had reached. At the same time, it exhorted them to consolidate the harmony and solidarity that they had, according to Emden, finally reached between the churches.[133]

The motives of the strong condemnation of the opposition and the Fury can relate to personal feuds and struggles for authority, but I believe it also lay in the Presbyterian nature of the church and its search for authority in orderly fashion. The image breaking seemed to demonstrate that there was an association between Reformers and violence. This association was also evident in the conduct of the Lutheran and Reformer communities in Antwerp on this matter. In Antwerp the Lutherans refused to join with the Reformers in seizing control of the town hall. The Lutherans and the Calvinists in Antwerp differed too on the issue of magisterial authority, as the Lutherans there declared: "vous, Calvinistes, vous auctorises icy par force et violence, et nous y sommes avec le consentiment du magistrat."[134] So what caused the Dutch Reformers to change their conduct? What led them to switch from emphasizing their loyalty to the authorities and attending quiet, secret gatherings, to openly violent behaviour? Was it the formerly mentioned writings from Utenhove and Micronius? Was it the power vacuum within the Low Countries that emboldened the Reformers?

131 Concerning Johannes Helmichius's views on resistance see Henry Meylan: "Helmichius ne croit ni au projet de Brederode, ni a l'intervention des Allemands. C'est au Seigneur Jésus qu'il appartient de briser la tête du serpent, celle du monstre Léviathan." In "L'Eglise d'Anvers sous la terreur: Lettres inédites de Johannes Helmichius (1567)", in *Mélanges historiques offerts à monsieur Jean Meyhoffer* (Lausanne, 1952), pp. 73–85 (pp. 81–83).

132 Archivum, 2, Letters 84 and 86, pp. 276–79, 291–2; Pettegree, 'The Strangers and their Churches', pp. 293–94.

133 *Die Kirchenratsprotokollen*, p. 365.

134 Quoted in Marnef, *Antwerpen*, p. 143, who refers to Aart A. Van Schelven, "Verklikkersrapporten over Antwerpen in het laatste kwartaal van 1566", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* (*gevestigd te Utrecht*), 50 (1929), 238–320 (p. 242): "Notice of the Lutherans G. van der Baenderyen and H. van den Broecke, cited in the letter of Philip Dauxy, 18 November 1566".

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Was it the presence of geographically convenient foreign churches in England, the increased influence exercised by Calvinism on a larger proportion of the population and influential figures, economic hardships, or perhaps the influence of events in Calvinist France?

The link between France, the Westkwartier, and the Walloon churches certainly merits more investigation. We should not forget the considerable influence exercised by Guido de Bres's *Belgic Confession*, a Walloon confession of faith from 1561 on the Reformed movement in the Low Countries. Going back to the 1566 iconoclasm, there is no trace of any involvement by the London French Church, however, though there of course were Walloon and French congregations in most cities in the Low Countries. Unfortunately, no consistory acts survive for the year 1566 for either the French Church or the Dutch Church in London, which might give us an insight into the French-speaking churches in the Low Countries, though synodal records exist.[135] There are also some letters that do show that the French Church in London communicated with French-speaking churches in the Low Countries. For the year 1566 most letters relate to Antonio del Corro, also called Monsieur De Bellerive. The French Church of Antwerp wrote the first letter on 13 August 1566 to Antoine Corran, or Antonio del Corro, when he still lived in France, asking him to serve as its minister since the congregations had increased in size all over the Low Countries at that point.[136] By 18 September 1566 the French-speaking Church in Antwerp again begged del Corro to serve them since they were looking for a suitable minister who could speak French. There were also many Italian- and Spanish-speaking believers in Antwerp, Brussels, and Bruges, who wanted to hear someone preach in their language.[137] Antwerp had witnessed iconoclasm on 20 August 1566. Del Corro did go to Antwerp around 1567 for the ministry in the French-speaking congregation but soon fled to London where he served as the minister of the Spanish community. Little evidence of involvement does not mean that there was none. Spicer's study on the Southampton community shows that where the sources are available, intricate connections between the Southampton community and resistance existed.[138] Yet Margaret of Parma had

135 N.C. Kist, "De synoden der Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerken onder het Kruis, gedurende de jaren 1563–1577, gehouden in Braband, Vlaanderen, enz.", *Nederlandsch archief voor kerkelijke geschiedenis*, 20 (1849), 113–208; *Livre synodal contenant les articles résolus dans les synodes des Eglises wallonnes des Pays-Bas, 1563–1685* (The Hague, 1896).

136 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 100, p. 44.

137 Ibid., Letter 101, p. 65.

138 Spicer, especially pp. 127–40.

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been able to suppress resistance in parts of French Flanders before the iconoclastic wave of 1566.[139]

Returning to the question of what emboldened the Reformers to become more militant, one can point to a combination of all these factors. The survival and subsequent success of the Reformation in the Low Countries owed much to the proximity of England as a refugee centre and to anxiety about the situation in France. Whatever the reason, many Reformers condemned violent iconoclasm. Yet the power vacuum in the London Dutch Church and the limited influence the London churches exercised on the provincial settlements gave militants, along with people driven by a desire for revenge against the Catholic clergy and Alba's regime such as Camerlynck and his group, the opportunity to launch attacks from England. The latter, who were active in the Iconoclastic Fury, allied with noblemen such as the Prince of Orange, though he did not always approve of their actions, in the subsequent years and became known as the Wood Beggars. To what extent their actions were really driven by Calvinist doctrine or were rather theologically shallow is not clear, but as militant Protestants they broke into prisons to save Reformers, and they plundered Catholic places of worship as well as the houses of priests, killing them in its wake, in order to appease both the noblemen and their refugee communities. A study of the networks of Reformed nobility in the Low Countries, nobility in exile, and their relationship with the exile congregations might well reveal more intricate connections between the exile congregations and image breaking. But I have chosen to concentrate on the influence of the consistories.[140] The contacts between nobility and Reformers within the Low Countries formed an important element in the build-up towards the Dutch Revolt. According to Nauta, some local consistories did consider resisting the government in agreement with influential members of the nobility, as had happened in the French Wars of Religion, and were prepared to raise funds for this purpose.[141] Yet, as Verheyden has warned, we cannot always treat 'Calvinist' and 'Iconoclast' as

139 See Charles Paillard, *Histoire des troubles religieux de Valenciennes, 1560–1567*, 4 vols (Brussels, 1874–1876).

140 De Meij, *De Watergeuzen*, shows these connections in detail.

141 Doede Nauta, *Aard van de opstand in de Nederlanden der zestiende eeuw* (The Hague, 1976), in particular pp. 40, 41, as quoted in Auke Jelsma, "The 'Weakness of Conscience' in the Reformed Movement in the Netherlands: The attitude of the Dutch Reformation to the use of violence between 1562 and 1574", in *The Church and War. Papers read at the Twenty-First Summer Meeting and the Twenty-Second Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W.J. Sheils (Oxford, 1983), pp. 217–29 (pp. 219–20).

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synonyms.[142] Take, for example, the attitude of Philip of Marnix, a nobleman and a well-known defender of the Reformation who had studied under Calvin and Beza, and was later a protagonist of Orange. In a pamphlet of 1567, he had written apologetically about the Iconoclastic Fury, although he later defended iconoclasm. He asserted that it was uncertain who was involved in the image breaking, and who had advised them, but he went on to say that one should not be too quick to blame the consistories. Although his pamphlet had propagandistic aims, the following quotation is worth considering:

> On the contrary, we know that the adherents of that religion have always been of the opinion that private persons must not cut down images erected by the public authorities. This they declared several times in public exhortations as well as in private remonstrances, always so that no one should be given offence. And anyone who has ever taken the trouble to study their doctrine cannot be ignorant of this. But even if they had thought the action could be justified (which is not true at all), it is in all events certain that they never wanted to do it. Moreover, at the time it was done it was of no avail to them. They had unanimously decided to send deputies to Brussels to beseech Her Highness provisionally to grant them some churches or other places in which to practise their religion, in order to avoid disturbances and riots. […] I concede that among the image breakers there were people who professed to be of the religion, but I also say that there were as many others who did not make and never made that profession.[143]

3 The Involvement of the Foreign Churches in Resistance in the Aftermath of the Fury

Here I wish to consider the involvement of the foreign churches in resistance between 1566 and 1568 by looking closely at two cases, namely the connections between the stranger churches and Jan Camerlynck and his group, and their response to the requests from William of Orange for support for his military campaigns. Before iconoclasm, Reformers in the Low Countries had tried to obtain religious freedom through the agency of sympathetic nobility.

142 A.L.E. Verheyden, *Le Martyrologe Protestant des Pays-Bas du Sud au XVI^me^ Siècle*, Collection Histoire du Protestantisme en Belgique et au Congo Belge (Brussels, 1960), p. 49.

143 *Texts concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, ed. and introduction by E.H. Kossman and A.F. Mellink (Cambridge, 1974), p. 79.

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The Compromise of Nobles in April 1566 sought to moderate the anti-heresy placards. To that end, they sent a petition from the nobility to Margaret of Parma. The petition gained more than three hundred signatures, many from the lower nobility. Henry of Brederode, Louis of Nassau, and Philips of Marnix were among its main protagonists. The foreign churches were aware of the petition. As early as 1563, the Spanish ambassador in London was convinced that the stranger churches were in contact with leading noblemen in the Low Countries who opposed Cardinal Granvelle and his policies, among them William of Orange. According to the ambassador, the ministers of the London Dutch Church claimed in their sermons that the problems in the Low Countries would soon be over.[144] The belief that political developments might change the religious situation in the Low Countries raised hopes in the Dutch Church. These networks of Reformers and noblemen constituted the only direct link between the consistories of the stranger churches and the Dutch Revolt. As we have already seen, it was also to this cooperation that Philips of Marnix referred. The petition formed part of a wider movement of opposition to Philip II's policies and to the persecutions. This culminated in the formation of sworn leagues, the publication of pamphlets, and the fashion for wearing Beggars' insignia.[145]

Frustrated by the ambiguous and limited responses from Philip, the nobility in opposition did not give up the struggle. The iconoclasm in 1566 has, in retrospect, come to symbolize the start of the Dutch Revolt. Margaret conceded a moderation of the placards and on 25 August even allowed the Reformers to deliver sermons in designated spaces, though Philip withdrew this concession a few months later. In February 1567, some nobles addressed yet another petition, at the request of some consistories in the Low Countries, to Margaret of Parma. This acknowledged:

> [...] that some professing the religion may have gone too far after your promises had been made, this was before there were any negotiations with them, and it ought not to be an excuse for punishing the others who very much regret those excesses. [...] It has always been our ardent desire and our intention to behave unpretentiously and unobtrusively, to practise all due obedience, and to perform all other normal duties because

144 Pettegree, "The Strangers and their Churches", pp. 275–76, referring to Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Les relations des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le règne de Philippe II* (Brussels, 1882), vol. 3, pp. 272–73, 307.

145 Alastair Duke, "Dissident Propaganda and Political Organisation at the Outbreak of the Revolt of the Netherlands", in *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, eds. Alastair Duke, Judith Pollmann, and Andrew Spicer (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 137–56.

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> this is the way a just citizen must act and also because we hope that leave to practise our religion freely will be continued.[146]

What the consistories meant by "excesses" is not clear. It might refer to the iconoclasm or to the excessive violence in the wake of the Fury. Though in some places consistory members had taken part in image breaking, this did not presuppose a general consistorial policy, for such organization of networks among the churches was still to rudimentary. By December 1566 it had become clear that Margaret intended to retract the relative freedom of religion. The Reformed Synod in Antwerp that month decided in favour of armed resistance and consistories all over the country started raising money towards this.[147] Some scholars believe that the earlier action of October 1566 in which a Synod in Ghent decided to offer Philip three million guilders in return for religious freedom, the so-called Three Million Guilders Request, was intended to raise money to be used for resistance.[148] This resistance came in the form of the armed actions that the *gueux* or Beggars undertook. In the Westkwartier we find the Wood Beggars, or guerrilla-style banditry, while Middelburg and Walcheren experienced a first attack of Sea Beggars in order to capture the isle of Walcheren in cooperation with Orange.[149]

Only two months after the Fury, armed bands plundered the Weskwartier and tormented priests. About one hundred persons had committed to some form of guerrilla-style anticlerical warfare, hence the nickname the Wood Beggars. Most of them were either locals or had, again, come over from England. Local nobility had concocted the plan with the support of the consistories in the Westwartier.[150] The name of Brederode features ubiquitously. One such case was the band of Jan Camerlynck. He had planned his venture into guerrilla warfare in England, in an inn just outside Sandwich. The group worked mainly around Hondschoote and plundered and destroyed churches for months from November 1566 onwards.[151] The Bruges nobleman Jacob van Heule had instructed the group to attack priests and cut their ears off.[152] Although he had commanded them solely to cut off the priests' ears, they ended up killing at

146 *Texts concerning the Revolt*, Kossman and Mellink, p. 83.
147 Guido Marnef, "The Dynamics of Reformed Religious Militancy: The Netherlands, 1566–1585", in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585*, ed. Ph. Benedict (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 51–68 (pp. 56–57).
148 Scheerder, *De Beeldenstorm*, p. 59.
149 See De Meij, *De Watergeuzen*; Stouthamer, *Hervorming in Zeeland*, ch. 13.
150 Backhouse, "Dokumenten", p. 87.
151 Ibid.
152 Ibid., p. 93.

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least one priest. There were also plans to capture the town of Poperinge, but this plan failed.[153] Four months later they returned or moved to England.[154]

By the summer of 1567 the Duke of Alba arrived in the Low Countries with an army and plans to erect the Council of Troubles. Repression hit hard. Still, in September 1568 Camerlynck and his band decided to travel from England to the Low Countries to attempt another guerrilla-style invasion. This time, however, the authorities soon caught, examined, and executed them.[155] Backhouse published the documents relating to these examinations and concluded that the consistories of the exile churches were involved in the organisation of the banditry and especially in its financial support. He asserted that it had become clear that the consistories of both local congregations and the refugee communities were aware of what was happening and endorsed the plan in cooperation with the nobility. Backhouse believed that the nobility was financially dependent on the support of the consistory to aid the Wood Beggars. Some of the Beggars, he pointed out, admitted that they received maintenance grants from English or Dutch merchants. Backhouse saw confirmation of his statements in the roles which the consistory members of the Flemish Church in Norwich, Jan Michiels and Pieter Waels, had played.[156] Moreover, some captives admitted that they had heard rumours about a pact between some people in England and nobles in Flanders, which was intended to bring an army of two thousand men from England into Flanders.[157] The names of the noblemen most often referred to were Jacob van Heule, Brederode, and Anthonis, brother of the Lord of Longastre.[158] In the examinations, the captives made many references to Walloons too, but as their names are not given, we cannot make trace a connection with any French-speaking congregation. One of the captives insisted that they had only come over to free prisoners, rather than to pillage churches or kill priests, while another one declared that Camerlynck told him that he knew places in Flanders where a robbery would bring in good money. They would also free some imprisoned Reformers to keep the refugee congregations happy.[159]

153 Ibid.
154 Ibid., p. 87.
155 Ibid., pp. 97–98.
156 Ibid., pp. 94–95.
157 Ibid., p. 135.
158 For more information on van Heule's part in the Dutch Revolt see Ludo Vandamme, "Een Brugs Edelman in de Beginfase van de Opstand: Jacob van Heule (1566–1571)", in *Liber Amicorum Dr. J. Scheerder. Tijdingen uit Leuven over de Spaanse Nederlanden, de Leuvense universiteit en Historiografie* (Leuven, 1987), pp. 29–49.
159 Backhouse, "Dokumenten", pp. 207, 241.

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Yet, there are few unambiguous citations in the documents to confirm London's involvement, nor is there any confirmation or proof of the truthfulness of the prisoners' statements. Backhouse has pointed out that the interrogations of people who participated in iconoclasm and subsequent violence mentioned the involvement of the consistories of foreign churches in England.[160] What precisely the word consistory meant for contemporaries was problematic, since a consistory member did not necessarily represent the consistory in general. Moreover, we should distinguish between the members of the congregation and the consistory, and even within the consistory there were differences between private initiatives and official policy.[161] Much of the information provided by the captives was based entirely on rumour. Nevertheless, there clearly were among the refugees many who did favour armed resistance. These refugees contributed in two ways, first, as hired bandits, and, secondly, as organizers of the warfare in the Westkwartier. However, we should consider generalizations about the involvement of the stranger churches as institutions critically. There is no hard proof that London's Dutch consistory supported Camerlynck's plans; we only know about certain individuals residing in England who were heavily involved in these activities and of the existence of a seemingly large body of support among the refugees.

Two documents in the Archivum cast some light on the limited involvement of the London stranger churches. There is, however, some confusion about the date of the first letter: one suggests 1568 and the other 1570. Hessels believed that both letters were written in the year 1568.[162] In April that year the envoy of William of Orange had indeed negotiated financial support from the strangers and their churches to raise an army, at least according to these documents. The Dutch Church decided to discuss the matter with the French Church first. Both churches sent a representative to consult with the Earl of Bedford, who in turn took up the issue with William Cecil. They reported to the consistories that the request "was reasonable", and that the strangers were "bound to give effect to it prudently and secretly", giving people to understand that the money was "for the relief of the afflicted."[163] They decided to choose eight members of the consistory to carry this out. On 2 May, however, the Prince of Orange directed a similar commission to the minister of the French Church, thus confusing

160 Backhouse based this view on documents he published about Jan Camerlynck and the Wood Beggars. Backhouse, "Dokumenten".

161 Andrew Pettegree, "The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar", in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium* (Exeter, 30 August–3 September 1988), eds. Johannes van den Berg and Paul G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), 80–99 (pp. 84–85); see pp. 97, 104, 110.

162 Archivum, 2, Letter 87, pp. 293–97.

163 Ibid.

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the Dutch Church. When on 3 July Willem van Hembyze, a nobleman from Ghent, asked to transfer a certain amount of money to him as soon as possible, the Dutch Church answered that they would willingly obey to the request, but that they wanted first to consult the French Church and await a reply from the Prince of Orange. On 13 July two messengers from Orange arrived. They appointed eight commissioners to collect the said money within the congregations themselves.[164]

While the stranger churches as well as several English secular authorities were thus aware of the impending attacks on the Low Countries, at least the Dutch Church felt uneasy about the whole matter. The commissioners wanted to record the names of all the contributors. The commissions came through letters, which were said to have come from Orange, and one of these letters cancelled the first commission, while another one in August again repeated the appeal for assistance.[165] While the Dutch consistory replied that they would do their duty and find the money, there was uproar within the congregation about the list of names that the commissioners wanted to compile. According to the second document, many people feared that this could have dire consequences for those who still travelled abroad and were not exiles, and for their families and wives still living in the Low Countries. However, the document spoke about a loan, rather than a money collection. Many members, it seemed, refused to contribute, or did so only out of shame.[166] Because of these considerations, the consistory decided to advise the commissioners to collect money from individual members without involving the consistory and urged them to desist from using any means of extortion to get members to agree to give financial support. It would seem that those who had refused to lend money were abused in the name of the prince as "rebels, deserters of the common cause, enemies of the fatherland" and threatened with exclusion from "all traffic on water and land, and confiscation of all their property".[167] To the consistory the aim of Orange's resistance needed to be action against the Duke of Alba, the Council of Troubles, and in favour of religious freedom. While they agreed with such intentions, they were uneasy about Orange's military actions. They added that Orange's actions were "measures the king [of Spain] alone is competent to take, and it is incredible that the prince should intend to expel the king from his country".[168] Through these measures, the document argued, Orange would usurp the authority and prerogative of Philip. This would damage

164 Ibid.
165 Ibid., pp. 293–94.
166 Ibid., Letter 90, pp. 302–5.
167 Ibid., p. 303.
168 Ibid.

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the good name of Orange since it would "justify the charge of the Duke of Alba that he aspired to the position of governor-general of the Netherlands".[169] The consistory was willing to support resistance to Alba, but not if those measures encroached on the king's prerogative. The actions of the consistory were consistent with its stance in previous years; resistance had to respect the legal niceties. The consistory had no objections should the nobles oppose Alba and the Council of Troubles, but they were not prepared to countenance opposition to the king.

Backhouse, De Coussemaeker, and to some extent also Decavele have exaggerated the part played by the refugees. We should be wary of jumping too quickly to conclusions simply because refugees from Sandwich and Norwich were involved in radical activities after the iconoclasm. Instead we should be more cautious in how we interpret the sources that reveal the potential involvement of these refugee congregations. Even where the sources refer to the consistories, it is not clear whether we can take these statements at face value. Although they indeed organized many of the troubles in the Westkwartier after the Fury, the Wood Beggars were essentially criminals, and, as such, not wholly representative of the refugee communities. De Coussemaeker's analysis implied, albeit not very implicitly, that the refugee churches made large-scale arrangements for a coup in the Low Countries and organized the troubles from Sandwich and Norwich. This group was more likely to be dealing largely on their own initiative and that of the nobles who supported them. Although militant refugees, some of whom were probably members of the consistories, would have supported their actions, these were unrepresentative of the consistories as a whole. To that extent, we may speak of militant Reformers operating from England taking a prominent part in guerrilla actions in the wake of the image breaking, but rather less of organized attacks planned within the foreign churches. The same probably holds true for the exile churches in the Rhineland.

4 Conclusion

As Pettegree said, we cannot underestimate the influence of the stranger churches in England in creating a rabidly anti-Catholic climate, even if their direct involvement was limited.[170] The writings of the magisterial Reformers linked to the Strangers' Church were still in use during the 1560s and these

169 Ibid.

170 Pettegree, "The Exile Churches during the Wonderjaar", p. 94.

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would have contributed to the tensions, despite the ambivalent nature of these writings on obedience and resistance. They treated the issue of images in churches with circumspection and likewise the legitimacy of resisting the divinely-ordained magistrates. On the one hand, they told their readers that the government was acting tyrannically while at the same time emphasizing that the Reformers should bear all the hardships patiently. These paradoxical ideas lingered in the ecclesiastical discipline and policies of the foreign churches and these help to explain why historians have found such difficulty in deciding what part the foreign churches played in the troubles in the Low Countries in the 1560s.

Yet, as I have pointed out, we should not be too quick to ascribe too much active responsibility for the events in the Low Countries to the foreign churches. Violent iconoclasm collided with Reformed values of obedience and quietness. While van Gelderen stated that "Dutch Reformed Protestantism was to an important extent the result of the activities of the various refugee churches, those of London and Emden in particular", the Iconoclastic Fury was not.[171] Militant migrants who regularly returned to the Low Countries incorporated themselves in the existing foreign churches, most of which likely had grown militant in the Low Countries. Their message resonated with a growing public in areas of the Low Countries closest to the Westkwartier, and they then started using the refugee settlements as a springboard from which they hoped to conquer the Westkwartier. The growing militancy among the religious dissidents in the Low Countries displeased many in the stranger communities in London, and even Sandwich and Norwich, where the refugees were bitterly divided in their opinions on iconoclasm. At the same time the Dutch Church experienced severe problems as a part of the congregation left the church in protest. The collision between the ideal of obedience to the civil authorities and the harsh reality of persecutions meant that opinions about the use of force varied within the congregations. As a result, the London churches' opinions on iconoclasm differed from those emerging from Reformed leaders, ministers, elders, members, or simply adherents in the 1560s who had been converted after listening to the sermons of early Reformers and were inclined to interpret their writings in subversive ways. While several networks of militants used the refugee communities when planning violent actions, the consistories themselves were too divided to take direct action. In the years after iconoclasm, a new stream of militants, who had been involved in image breaking or had been affected by increased persecutions, fled to England.

171 van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, p. 66.

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CHAPTER 5

The Foreign Churches and the Dutch Revolt, 1567–1585

The view that lower authorities had the duty to resist tyrants conveniently justified William of Orange's resistance to Alba, but this does not mean that the discussion concerning the legitimacy of resistance ended once Orange took the lead. Despite the stress that historians put on their involvement in the Sea Beggar movement of 1572, refugees were frequently suspicious of Orange and his war tactics, often condemning the activities of the *gueux*. The condemnation of certain forms of resistance thus continued to shape the attitude of the strangers towards the Low Countries for rather longer than has been assumed. There was a spectrum of opinion about Orange and his campaigns among the refugees. Some were enthusiastic supporters, others indifferent or suspicious and yet others were downright hostile. This chapter will seek to present the broad range of views found among the refugees concerning Orange and his strategy. By adopting such a cautious approach in respect of Orange, the stranger churches positioned themselves as diplomatically moderate in an English context in which support for the revolt existed.

Auke Jelsma has shown that support for Orange among the Reformed churches in the Low Countries was rather lukewarm.[1] The same could be said of the churches in exile in England, as is evident from their paltry financial contributions and their rejection of his war tactics. This chapter examines the contributions of the foreign churches in England to, and their views concerning, the revolt in the Low Countries between 1568 and 1585. Theological discussions about the legitimacy of the use of force and right of resistance also occurred among the refugees. The foreign churches did not straightforwardly support the Dutch Revolt and their contributions were not as significant as is sometimes supposed. Their attitudes differed between churches and over time, and their contributions were generally linked to a variety of stumbling blocks, such as economic circumstances; their primary concern was for the

1 Auke Jelsma, "The 'Weakness of Conscience' in the Reformed movement in the Netherlands: The attitude of the Dutch Reformation to the use of violence between 1562 and 1574", in *The Church and War. Papers read at the twenty-first summer meeting and the twenty-second winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W.J. Sheils (Oxford, 1983), pp. 217–29.

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survival of the Dutch Reformed movement. In this chapter, I intend to demonstrate the complexity of the churches' support.

While the foreign churches started to contribute to the war effort of Orange, I believe that they did not do so wholeheartedly and did so mostly between 1570 and 1576, and again from 1584 onwards because of the English intervention. In many places, the Reformed churches in the Low Countries represented a third pole between Spanish interests and those of Orange. They helped Orange, but only to pursue their own religious interests. On many occasions the financial contributions of the stranger churches disappointed Orange, while the Reformed churches in the Low Countries had reservations about Orange's attempts to achieve diplomatic reconciliation with his adversaries. The principal contribution of the foreign churches made to the Dutch Revolt was indirect; the mere presence of their congregations in England allowed Orange to build up networks using merchants and militant Protestants.

To investigate the foreign churches' contributions, I shall begin by looking at the historiography and justification of war in the larger context of the Dutch Reformed churches. I shall then proceed to analyse the war contributions the foreign churches made, as well as their relations with William I, Prince of Orange. Finally, I shall examine the presence and activities of the stranger churches in the context of Elizabethan diplomacy. The story of Elizabeth's intervention and her secret support of Orange in the Low Countries is quite well-known, so I shall focus on her interaction with the foreign churches. Scholars have made good use of sources such as the consistory records and letters published in the Archivum but they have emphasized the cases in which the churches did support the Revolt, rather than consider why churches withheld support.

1 Classic Accounts of How Religion Shaped the Dutch Revolt

The support which the stranger churches gave to their fatherland is well-known.[2] Yet that does not necessarily imply that this support is well-understood.[3] Trim gave a good summary when he wrote that "the evidence

2 David J.B. Trim, "Fighting 'Jacob's Wars': The Employment of English and Welsh Mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562–1610" (PhD diss., King's College, University of London, 2002), p. 296.

3 Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 147–87; Owe Boersma, "Vluchtig voorbeeld: De Nederlandse, Franse en Italiaanse vluchtelingenkerken in Londen, 1568–1585" (PhD diss., Theologische Academie Kampen, 1994), pp. 188–96; van Schelven; Charles Galton Littleton, "Geneva on

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reveals that in 1572, Dutch nobles and notables and leading members of their exile communities, particularly that in London, together with godly merchants of that City and royal councillors, cooperated to dispatch troops to the Netherlands."[4] The actions in the Low Countries represented a joint effort between the stranger churches and the Englishmen. I can, however, find little evidence of the churches working with each other or with Englishmen in such concerted actions, but I assume that these actions probably involved private agreements between Englishmen and individual strangers. The effort of the English rather served to stimulate the stranger churches. It was not so much their position as aliens in England that constrained the foreign churches, but rather the fact that they were first and foremost a church and not a military institution.

Trim's thesis followed nearly two decades after Pettegree's, who believed that the "exiles were quick to recognise an obligation to the whole Netherlands".[5] Pettegree pointed out that the stranger churches received many requests from Orange for financial support and did indeed send equipped soldiers and money to the Low Countries. By 1576, according to Pettegree, the churches' support became less financial, instead they focused on the missions of ministers.[6] I agree with this, and for this reason I have divided my analysis for this period in two chapters: the first, chapter 5, focuses on the military assistance the churches gave and the second, chapter 6, on the ways in which they promoted the advance of the Reformed churches in the Netherlands. In both chapters, however, our understanding of the foreign churches' support for the revolt also benefits from analysis of the political and financial constraints which influenced the ability of the churches to contribute.

While Pettegree considered both the French and Dutch communities in London, Littleton concentrated on the history of the French Church there. He believed that the strangers provided links between the Protestant Reformation on the Continent and the Reformers in England. Littleton asserted that "[t]he aliens and their churches could easily be used by many religiously zealous members of the government to push both English ecclesiastical and foreign policy in a more militantly Protestant direction".[7] In contrast to the Dutch

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Threadneedle Street: The French Church of London and its Congregation, 1560–1625" (PhD diss., The University of Michigan, 1996); Baron Ferdinand de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1892).

4 David J.B. Trim, "Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'", p. 118.

5 Andrew Pettegree, "The Strangers and their Churches in London, 1550–1580" (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1983), p. 273.

6 Ibid., p. 279.

7 Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle", p. 213.

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Church, the French Church seems to have had few reservations about supporting the war efforts of Orange and therefore accepted the inevitability of violence. It contributed largely in diplomatic ways, while it also kept an eye on the wars of religion in France. The French Church was led by French ministers who were more prepared to justify the armed struggle. The French Wars of Religion and the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre had already helped justify Protestant resistance, and both Calvin and the churches of France had provided them with some theological justifications.[8]

While militant Reformers were present in high numbers in the Italian Church, the Dutch Church in particular contained members and ministers who held conservative theological views in respect of violence.[9] Since these views matter because they shaped the attitudes of the foreign churches towards the Dutch Revolt, it might be useful at this point to survey these and also to consider the relevant historiography of the Dutch Reformation here. With regard to the attitude of the London Dutch Church towards the Revolt and the Reformation in the Low Countries, Auke Jelsma has stated, as has already been mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, that the Reformed churches there hesitated to justify the right to revolt; for that reason the Reformers in the Low Countries did not support armed struggle with the same passion as the churches did in France or Scotland.[10]

8 Calvin remained strongly convinced of the doctrine of obedience throughout his life. Yet, as Protestants set up assemblies and defended themselves, this became difficult to adhere to, and Protestants in France, even ministers, became more militant by 1560. Calvin himself stood slightly more favourable towards resistance from 1560 onwards, but only in certain cases such as through lower magistrates. He considered obedience to God most important. Increasingly, Calvinist ministers supported the call to arms to defend themselves against persecution. French Calvinists found some room for a constitutional theory of resistance. See Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Volume Two: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 193–94, 213–20; Philip Benedict, "The Dynamics of Protestant Militancy: France, 1555–1563", in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585*, eds. Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop, and Marc Venard (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 35–50; Philip Benedict, "Prophets in Arms? Ministers in War, Ministers on War: France 1562–74", in *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and Early Modern France*, Past and Present suppl. 7, eds. Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts, and Andrew Spicer (Oxford, 2012), pp. 163–196; Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (New Haven/London, 2009); Nevada Levi DeLapp, *The Reformed David(s) and the Question of Resistance to Tyranny: Reading the Bible in the 16th and 17th centuries* (London, 2014), pp. 19–54; Andrew Spicer, "Iconoclasm on the Frontier: Le Cateau-Cambrésis, 1566", in *Iconoclasm from Antiquity to Modernity* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 119–137.

9 Unity in Multiformity, pp. 24–34.

10 Jelsma, "The 'Weakness of Conscience'", p. 220.

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In the first synod in Bedburg in 1571, from which the English foreign churches absented themselves, the Dutch Reformed churches declared their support for Orange, justified the war as godly, and accepted the use of violence. The following synod at Emden did not, however, confirm these statements, thereby demonstrating the Dutch Reformed churches' hesitation.[11] In practical terms, we see a similar reaction in London to that which Jelsma discerned for the Low Countries: "The result was accepted, not the violence."[12] An example of this was the decision of the Dutch Reformed churches in the Low Countries in 1574 not to get involved in worldly matters and to concentrate on ecclesiastical problems. Indeed, it is very probable that the Reformed churches wanted to keep aloof from the Revolt, and from the violence associated with it, as well as from the rebellion against the king.[13] The London Dutch Church's lack of enthusiasm reflected the division on the topic among the office holders and among the members of the foreign churches.

Theological justifications for the revolt were advanced, for instance the notion that the inferior authorities should defend Christians against a tyrant, and the foreign churches accepted such justifications.[14] The foreign churches could not, however, justify the violence and robberies, for which they reproached the troops of Orange. While militant members might concentrate on justifying the revolt, the churches could not entirely endorse Orange's war tactics or his willingness to seek the support of potential Catholic allies. Jelsma attributed the lack of fervour among the Reformed churches in the Low Countries to a "weakness of conscience" or to "a reluctance to accept the use of violence against the government".[15] This lack of fervour further translates into a fear of sins associated with the disorderly war tactics Orange used; for them, order was one of the main characteristics guiding Reformed discipline. Many of the Dutch fugitives in London and elsewhere, as well as the churches under the Cross, still believed that "violence against the magistrates was a sin".[16] As we have seen in chapters 3 and 4, however, the opposite was true as well: some of the churches and Reformers under the Cross proved to be very militant and not opposed to violence in the 1560s. Dutch churches did not have a problem so much with military violence but with war crimes such as robberies often committed by the Sea Beggars and *gueux*. With this came distrust of Orange's war tactics.

11 Ibid., pp. 223–24.
12 Ibid., p. 221.
13 Ibid., pp. 221–24.
14 See chapter 4.
15 Jelsma, "The 'Weakness of Conscience'".
16 Ibid., p. 225.

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Jelsma thought that this "weakness of conscience", or "fear of sin", derived from three sources. First, Lutheran thought had initially shaped the Reformed Church in the Low Countries, Calvinist influence being limited to the southern parts of the Low Countries.[17] Indeed, Jelsma saw the southern Low Countries as an exception. The Calvinist influence there was evident from the start of the Iconoclast Fury in the Westkwartier. According to Jelsma, Lutherans would have considered disobedience or revolt unthinkable.[18] Secondly, Reformers associated disobedience with Anabaptism and the Münster catastrophe of 1534–1535. This is something Owe Boersma asserted as well.[19] Lastly, Jelsma saw the strict division between worldly and ecclesiastical matters as a remnant of an earlier strong Anabaptist movement in the Low Countries.[20] He pointed to Wouter Deleene and his son Peter Deleene as examples of this.[21] Both had Anabaptist roots and were staunchly opposed to violence. Wouter Deleene had been an elder of the Strangers' Church in England, while Peter Deleene was an elder of the Elizabethan Dutch Church.

An inherent fear of any association with Anabaptism was indeed present in the stranger churches until the 1570s. This antagonism towards Anabaptism ranged from outright condemnation to a more moderate stance which, if not tolerating, at least countenanced the view that Anabaptists might have been "weak members of Christ" who needed to be converted.[22] While there is certainly something to be said for the Lutheran influence, most of the members of the stranger churches came from the southern Low Countries, especially Antwerp and Flanders, two areas which underwent a Calvinist influence and contained several French or Walloon churches because of commercial and geographical convenience. The members of the Reformed churches in these areas did not shy away from violence.[23] The leadership, in contrast to the members of the Dutch Church, condemned any form of rebellion or violence. Perhaps there was also an Erasmian influence. The stranger churches' main architect, à Lasco, was a close friend of Erasmus and bought his library before travelling to England.[24]

17 Jelsma, "The 'Weakness of Conscience'", p. 227.

18 Ibid.

19 Boersma, "Vluchtig voorbeeld", p. 188.

20 Jelsma, "The 'Weakness of Conscience'", pp. 227–29.

21 Ibid., p. 228.

22 This was visible most notably in the 1575 case of the executed Dutch Anabaptists in London. The Dutch Church attempted to convert the said Anabaptists to no avail. Archivum, 2, letter 191, pp. 700–710.

23 See chapters 3 and 4 in the present volume.

24 *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami,* eds. Percy S. Allen et al. (Oxford, 1926) vol. 6, pp. 503–6, as quoted in Michael S. Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church: John a Lasco and the Forma ac ratio* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 2.

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Furthermore, if there was a Lutheran justification for this separation of worldly and ecclesiastical matters, as Jelsma suggested, how then should we interpret the decision of the Walloon Church of Canterbury to stand aloof from politics and only focus on ecclesiastical matters if the Walloon provinces were most likely to have undergone Calvinist influence?[25] Elsewhere Jelsma suggested a motive which seems to me to be more relevant and significant than the Lutheran influence. This was the simple fact, for which he quoted Alastair Duke, that the churches had other priorities, functions, and more than enough work in ecclesiastical matters to be willing to become involved in state affairs.[26] While I agree with Jelsma's first thesis on "the weakness of conscience", I do believe that it does not constitute the entire picture, especially when applied to the stranger churches. In this case, it was not just a fear of sin, but also a search for order, a difficult financial situation, organizational burdens, dependence on their host country, and a distrust of Orange that explained their inability or unwillingness to contribute to warfare on Orange's side. The problem with resistance among the refugees during the 1560s and 1570s rather arose from differences in interpretation concerning the notion of Christian freedom, which ought, according to one elder of the Dutch Church in 1567, to be spiritual not worldly. Such spiritual freedom could not be achieved by sinning against godly authority; nonetheless, many of those involved in resistance believed that resistance in the cause of gaining freedom of religion was not a sin.[27]

2 The Complex Relationship between the Reformed Churches and William of Orange

Religion itself could never be a ground for armed resistance because resistance was a sin.[28] The reasons for grievances leading to resistance in the Low Countries as well as the Dutch Revolt were partially political. The government

25 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, p. 6; CCA – U47/A1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 7.

26 Alastair Duke, "The Ambivalent Face of Calvinism in the Netherlands 1561–1618", in *International Calvinism*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford, 1985, 2nd edition 1986), pp. 109–34, referenced by Auke Jelsma, *Frontiers of the Reformation: Dissidence and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 112–14.

27 Johannes Engelram, *Uutsprake van der kercken of ghemeynte Godes: Welcke, wat ende hoedanich sy sy* ([?], 1567), chapter 10.

28 M.E.H.N. Mout, "Armed resistance and Calvinism during the revolt of the Netherlands", in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium* (*Exeter, 30 August–3 September, 1988*), eds. Johannes van den Berg and Paul G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1991), pp. 57–68 (p. 63).

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of Philip II in Spain decided on the harsh repression of Protestants and trod on the privileges of traditionally independent-minded cities in the Low Countries while the nobles in the Low Countries complained about Spain's efforts to centralize the administration. Nobles rather than the foreign churches became the driving force behind resistance. Orange's cause was more bound up with politics than with religion, a development which may have made those Protestants who wanted their concerns to be addressed exclusively to become suspicious.

Orange did attempt to appeal to refugees in particular in a religious way. The *Wilhelmus*, a popular folklore song written between 1568 and 1572 which became the Netherlands' national anthem, compared Orange to the biblical figure of David, who had defeated the Philistines; equated here with the Spaniards: like Orange, David too was an exile. The *Wilhelmus* followed Beza's interpretation of the story of David in the context of the contemporary political situation, which saw David as a righteous inferior magistrate rebelling against king Saul. Orange himself also used the story of David in a few letters to the foreign churches in order to convince them of the theological justifications and importance of aiding him.[29] The link between the refugee churches and support for rebellion certainly seemed theologically significant, but the churches did not seem convinced.

Orange first launched invasions in the Low Countries against the Duke of Alba in 1568. Until 1580, Orange maintained the fiction that he was acting against Philip's "evil councillors", or so he leads us to believe.[30] In June 1572 Orange wrote that his mission had the objective "to put an end to the atrocious and impious tyranny and insolence of the Duke of Alva and his gang".[31] It is unclear whether or not the anger was directed at Alba and his successors in the Low Countries alone, rather than against the authority of Philip himself, but other invasions followed and led to a continuous revolt. In their rising against Philip's representatives in the Low Countries, noblemen exploited several tactics, including the use of the Sea and Wood Beggars or *gueux*. Help in this form came from England from where privateers operated on the pretext of serving William of Orange as privateering guerrilla forces. The Sea Beggars emerged in 1568 when Orange's brother, Louis of Nassau, first commissioned

29 DeLapp, *The Reformed David(s)*, pp. 73–96.

30 J.K. Oudendijk, "'Den Coninck van Hispaengien heb ick altijt gheert'", in *Dancwerc. Opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. dr. D. Th. Enklaar* (Groningen, 1959), pp. 264–78, as referred to in Alastair Duke, "From King and Country to King or Country? Loyalty and Treason in the Revolt of the Netherlands", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 32 (1982), 113–35 (p. 124).

31 Archivum, 2, Letter 118, pp. 412–19.

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captains to attack from the sea.[32] A second wave of Beggars played a vital role in the 1572 invasion plans of Orange. Their attack on the Low Countries from the sea formed part of Orange's large military initiative, the second revolt.[33] Yet it is unclear how much control Orange had over these troops, especially after Elizabeth prematurely expelled them from the southern English coast. They attacked Holland and Zeeland and brought the coastal towns under their command.[34]

The Sea Beggars were "maritime predators", a description that seems rather apt.[35] The burgomaster and the magistrates of the town of Oostburg near Sluis and Flushing, on the coast of the Low Countries, called the *gueux* "rebels" in 1574, but a later, unknown, hand replaced *gueux* with "revolters".[36] In 1573 Orange recognized the grievances of the coastal towns against the "unruly Sea Beggars" and dismissed William II de La Marck, Lord of Lumey, his hated lieutenant who was the supreme commander of the Sea Beggars and regularly committed pillaging.[37] The foreign churches held an ambivalent connection with the Beggars. The Norwich preacher Jan Michiels was, for instance, on board of one of the Sea Beggar's vessels.[38] Scholars have often mentioned the refugee communities in connection with the Sea Beggars, but their use of these general terms can give a distorted image of the foreign churches being strongholds of resistance.[39] Again only a part of the refugees engaged in connections to resistance in the Low Countries.

Some members of the congregations supported the Beggars. The church leadership of most congregations either vehemently disapproved of the Beggars or turned a blind eye in order to support their cause in the Low Countries. They still, however, condemned robbery. A pivotal moment was a controversy in the Flemish Church of Norwich in 1571 concerning church hierarchy and disputes on the question of armed resistance. Some members of the Dutch Church of Norwich maintained

32 Backhouse, p. 155.
33 Trim, "Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'", pp. 109–10.
34 See J.A.C. De Meij, *De Watergeuzen en de Nederlanden, 1568–1572* (Amsterdam, 1972).
35 Herbert H. Rowen, "The Dutch Revolt: What kind of Revolution?", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43:3 (1990), 570–90 (p. 576); De Meij disagreed with this judgment: De Meij, *De Watergeuzen*, p. 179.
36 Archief van de gemeente Sluis, nr. 1128 Oostburg.
37 Duke, "From King and Country", pp. 126–27.
38 De Meij, *De Watergeuzen*, pp. 44, 167–69.
39 Trim, "Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'", p. 99.

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> dyverse irreligious persons, which under pretence of sauffe conduycte of the Prince of Orange to take his enemies by sea, dyd come on lande, and became robers and spylers of the comon wealthe: and in this place wher the Ghospelle is protested the same people to be forstered, is directlye against the Ghospelle of God, and therefor all such supporters to be culpable of their robberies.[40]

The city council accused two ministers, Theophilus Rijckewaert and Anthonius Algoet, of being troublemakers. They had actively participated in the 1566 iconoclasm in the Low Countries and had later accommodated several Sea Beggars in Norwich. The council also expelled from the city one member, Johannes Paulus, who had previously moved from Sandwich because he had defended the Iconoclastic Fury there, and threatened those who supported him, Rijckewaert and Algoet, with a fine of £20.[41] The party of the 'troublemakers' found more support in the Norwich community than those opposing them. The minister Isibrandus Balkius belonged to the opposition. Problems concerning hierarchy came into existence when ministers Rijckewaert and Algoet turned against Balkius and forbade him to preach and administer the sacraments.[42] In the end the city council expelled all three ministers in order to quiet the congregation down, and Balkius became minister in Maidstone but soon left for Stamford, for which he received a positive testimonial from the Bishop of Norwich.[43]

The controversy over violence also played a part in the conflict surrounding Jan Enghelram, also called Engelram or Inghelram, in the London Dutch Church. In 1571 the foreign churches, rather than supporting resistance, still had reservations, and these disputes over resistance also affected the attitude of the Reformers towards Orange. A former elder in London, Jan Enghelram, wrote a pamphlet in 1567 at the height of the controversy concerning

40 Norwich Record Office, NCR 17d/9, 17D, *The Dutch and Walloon Strangers' Book of Orders*, fol. 42, as quoted in Raingard Esser, "The Norwich Strangers and the Sandwich Connection", *Westhoek Info*, 10:2, (July 1994), 66–81 (p. 76).

41 Raingard Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996), pp. 66–67; "The Norwich Strangers", p. 77.

42 Norwich Record Office, NCR, 17d/9, *The Dutch and Walloon Strangers' Book of Orders*, fol. 42, 42 v. as quoted in Esser, "The Norwich Strangers", p. 77.

43 On Balkius see Frank van der Pol, *Mosterdzaad in ballingschap: Over christelijke identiteit en geloofsrepressie in de Nederlanden* (Kampen, 2007); Timothy G. Fehler, "Conflict and Compromise in International Calvinism: Ysbrand Trabius Balck's Pastoral Mediations in Exile and Beyond", *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 10:3 (2010), 291–313.

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iconoclasm.[44] In one chapter, Enghelram accused the iconoclasts in the Low Countries of having committed a sin, which was of course contrary to church discipline. He wrote about the importance of obeying the civil powers; he considered resistance against the secular authorities as tantamount to resisting God.[45] Though his pamphlet did include the typical constitutionalist defence of resistance through lower authorities, he argued that images should only be removed in an orderly fashion by secular authorities, not by private persons. He also strongly condemned iconoclasm and the plundering of churches that accompanied it, as well as the murder of priests.[46] To prove that his ideas were neither unusual nor radical, he included extracts from writings of Reformers in the Low Countries and France that address similar concerns.[47] Yet he expressed the hope that the punishment of the iconoclasts would not be too severe, considering that the secular government in the Low Countries had failed in its duties, and he ended by wishing Philip a long and healthy life, hoping he would finally come to understand the evangelical thought.[48] Not only did the pamphlet cause anxiety among iconoclasts just as many streamed into England in the next few years, but such a condemnation coming from the Reformed side seemed to justify the persecutions.[49] Enghelram added fuel to the fire, not just by his condemnation of iconoclasm but also by his attack on the party of the deacons. He deplored their obstinacy in the controversy over the godparents issue and that of those who protected van Haemstede in

44 Johannes Engelram, *Uutsprake van der kercken of ghemeynte Godes: welcke, wat ende hoedanich sy sy* ([?], 1567). One copy exists and can be found in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Dutch National Library) in The Hague.

45 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 431, p. 410; Aart A. van Schelven, "Johannes Engelram", *Stemmen des Tijds*, 5 (1916), 172–205 (p. 181); and see for instance Engelram, *Uutsprake*, Foreword: "[…] ouer dine sunderlingh openbare erchlike daden; De eerste tegen de grondt leere onser salichyt in den artikel der saliger menschwerdinge onses heeren Jesu Christi; De andere tegen de kerckenpolitie ende ceremonien; De derde tegen de heylige authoriteit der politischer Ouerheyt begaen (waermede de Satan, nu eene tijdt lanck geen kleyne schade, in der Gemeynte Godes gedaen heft ende noch awech doet) […]". Translation: "[…] about those particular public aggravating actions; The first against the basic tenets of our salvation in the article about the incarnation of our lord Jesus Christ; The other against the church discipline and ceremonies; The third one done against the holy power of the civil authorities (through which Satan, has now for a while wreaked havoc in the Godly Community, and still does)."

46 Engelram, *Uutsprake*, chapter 10.

47 Johannes Engelram, *De collecteur des nieuwen boeckskens geintituleerd Uutsprake van der kercken etc.* […] ([?], 1567). Attached to the copy in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Dutch National Library) in The Hague.

48 van Schelven, "Johannes Engelram", pp. 185, 186.

49 Ibid., p. 190.

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chapters eight and nine of the booklet. In 1568 Marnix van St Aldegonde, as a leading noble Reformer in the Low Countries, condemned the pamphlet and its contents as having been written with little knowledge of what happened in the Netherlands, though he also condemned the authoritarian tendencies of the elders.[50]

In 1570 several members complained to the consistory of the Dutch Church about the continuing sale of the pamphlet. The controversy was rekindled when the minister of the Dutch Church, Godfried van Winghen, publicly supported Enghelram in his views on the Iconoclastic Fury.[51] Van Winghen preached in May 1570 against the sins of those who had encouraged iconoclasm.[52] The consistory investigated the matter and urged Enghelram to stop selling his pamphlet as it gave too much offence to the community.[53] They also wanted him to make a public confession of guilt for his offensive behaviour and disobedience towards the consistory. The consistory, according to their own account, came out against him chiefly on account of his behaviour rather than his religious beliefs. Enghelram, however, believed that the disapproval of the pamphlet's content by a part of the consistory formed the basis for the consistory's actions against him.[54] In any case, by 1570 many elders, including Enghelram, had been replaced in reelections and the old consistory which had opposed resistance lost its dominance.

Enghelram felt that a confession of guilt on his part would show that the consistory had publicly condemned the teachings in his book. He feared that it would also seem as if the consistory disagreed with his doctrine concerning government, i.e. obedience to secular authorities, and that the consistory helped usurp power from the civil authorities.[55] He considered it his duty to fight for his teachings, not as a private person but in his capacity as a former elder so that the congregation might know the "true teachings" on the government.[56] Jan Lamoot, Jacob Saals, Jan Clercx, and Claude Dotignies had intervened in the consistory to express their opposition to the prohibition of Enghelram's pamphlet. Franchois Clercx, Jan Davelu, Gheeraert Artys,

50 Marnix van St Aldegonde, *Advys aengaende den twist in de Nederduytsche kercke tot London in Engellandt* (1568), in *Philips van Marnix van St Aldegonde, godsdienstige en kerkelijke geschriften*, ed. J.J. van Toorenenbergen (The Hague, 1871), pp. 135–82 (p. 140).

51 Acta, pp. 80, 173–74.

52 Ibid., pp. 80–81.

53 Ibid., pp. 81, 84.

54 Ibid., pp. 134–35, 165.

55 He probably meant that they would usurp this power by allowing disorderly Reformers to commit iconoclasm, something that only secular authorities could do. Ibid., pp. 132–33.

56 Ibid., p. 133.

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Guillaume Cocq, Jacob van Aeken, Pieter de But, Willem Fogghe, and a few other brethren also supported Enghelram in front of the consistory.[57] This party distrusted the consistory.[58] Eventually the Bishop of London, Edwin Sandys, became involved in the investigation. He rebuked Enghelram for disputing the authority of the consistory and of the Coetus which had ruled against the pamphlet. Although there was nothing theologically wrong with the pamphlet, the Bishop ruled that it was provocative because of the examples it used to prove its teachings.[59] Enghelram was, however, not satisfied with the middle ground which the church wanted to take on iconoclasm and violence after the upheaval within the church between 1565 and 1568.

The "bad behaviour" which Enghelram had displayed towards the consistory was demonstrated by his obstinate refusal to drop allegations against this body. He accused the church of admitting *gueux*, and of failing to condemn the iconoclasm of 1566 and the subsequent violence outright. Enghelram feared that the people would look on the church as a *gueux* church, in other words one that hosted violent robbers. He admitted that the Dutch Church used to be hated for its strict anti-violence views but also asserted that if it prohibited the sale of his pamphlet in 1570, it would now admit people associated with the *gueux*.[60] This would not be the last time that his pamphlet caused difficulties for Enghelram. In 1571 Enghelram asked the Dutch Church for a testimony as he wanted to move to Canterbury. When he decided to join the Walloon church there in 1576, Gherard Goossens, a member of this church, complained to the consistory about the admission of Enghelram to the congregation on account of this pamphlet.[61] The consistory had to make an investigation into the matter and Goossens remained silent for a few years, but as late as 1583 he again complained about Enghelram's pamphlet, though the church found no fault with it. Both published new tracts in their own defence at this point, but only Goossens's move to Antwerp in 1584 resolved the quarrel.[62]

The case of Enghelram demonstrates that the controversy about iconoclasm and resistance was still alive in 1570, and thus the foreign churches could not give a clear lead on resistance. Van Winghen had preached that the troubles in the Low Countries had arisen because of public preaching and iconoclasm and that those who had done this had sinned against the government. Fourteen brethren of the community argued that this was in direct conflict

57 Ibid., pp. 89–90, 170–71, 172.
58 Ibid., pp. 146–47.
59 Ibid., pp. 186–87.
60 Ibid., pp. 89–90.
61 Ibid., pp. 190–91.
62 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 431, p. 410; van Schelven, "Johannes Engelram", pp. 202–4.

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with both the Bible and with van Winghen's previous teachings. They argued that the authorities were responsible for the erection of the images because of their erroneous beliefs, and that the iconoclasts, having reached a true understanding of the gospel, had rightfully destroyed them, therefore they had not sinned. Moreover, the brethren declared, nobles such as William of Orange and Hendrik van Brederode had approved of iconoclasm, and that one should distinguish between devout and godless governments.[63]

Van Winghen must have realized the apparent contrast there had been between his preaching against the idols and their sudden violent removal, which he condemned. He understood the discrepancies between his communication of the ecclesiastical discipline and his public's reception of the minister's message. He abhorred the conclusions which people had drawn from his preaching against the idols. On this analogy, he reasoned, the iconoclasts could claim to have the private authority to kill adulterers and those who visited prostitutes.[64] Some members argued that individuals could take matters into their own hands, and cited the occasion when Jesus chased the merchants out of the temple, even though he had no governmental authority to do so.[65] Enghelram accused the consistory of the Dutch Church of having gone against governmental authority and obedience, especially that of the Spanish, by not choosing the side of van Winghen.[66] Jan Davelu, a member of the Dutch Church, let it be known that Joris Wybo, one of the other ministers, believed that van Winghen was wrong, and that at least one hundred members took that stance.[67] Wybo had formed part of the 1562 synod at Antwerp which had decided to sanction the release of Reformed prisoners, if necessary by force. After Wybo's arrival in London, the party opposed to resistance lost their dominance in the consistory.

In common with congregations across Europe, the easiest thing for Reformed leaders was first to condemn, and then slowly to turn a blind eye to iconoclasm in order not to disturb the community. As some Calvinist leaders such as Theodore Beza partially embraced the idea of resistance by the 1560s, the stranger churches needed a Reformed government more responsive to the views of its membership. The memory of iconoclasm was difficult for the Dutch community to put behind them. While some members condemned the events, others wanted recognition of the actions, and still others were searching for

63 Acta, p. 97.
64 Ibid., p. 101.
65 Ibid., p. 108.
66 Ibid., pp. 132–33.
67 Ibid., p. 99.

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closure. The events also caused spiritual anguish for some of the members. A certain Philippus Hendricx was worried that van Winghen did not differentiate between sincere iconoclasts and robbers and wondered what spiritual judgement those who had died without being able to repent their iconoclastic actions could expect. Should the congregation, he asked, take measures against those who had been iconoclasts and were accepted among the congregation without doing repentance? If they were to believe van Winghen, iconoclasts had sinned and therefore had to fear for their soul.[68]

The consistory tried to find a middle ground by urging van Winghen to accept the notion that each case of iconoclasm should be judged separately and according to circumstances.[69] He did not accept this and appealed to Edwin Sandys, the Bishop of London, for judgement. Sandys took a middle ground in which he condemned resistance of the secular magistrates while showing some sympathy for the religiously-inspired zeal of the iconoclasts.[70] The consistory tried to prohibit further discussion and move on.[71] I believe that this was a turning point for the foreign churches in England. An examination of the public prayers and fasts recorded in the Register of the Walloon Church at Southampton reveals a slow transition in the discourse between the late 1560s and the 1570s. While the prayers initially emphasized the Prince of Orange and the "poor afflicted churches", the consistory marked out the Spanish as the enemy by the end the 1570s.[72] At the same time, individuals did not, as I will mention below, withhold their regular criticisms about Orange. The 1570s was a period of transition in that sense. Many of the members were willing to take part in that narrative, while the churches navigated between a discourse which highlighted the spread of the Reformed movement only, and one focused on the political liberation of the Low Countries for which Orange strove.

Why did the attitude of the stranger churches change? These Reformers who opposed violence were less hostile to military intervention conducted by an inferior authority, such as Orange, than critical of his tactics. If anything, the writings originating from the brethren of the Strangers' Church had already justified such an intervention.[73] We find another hint towards the answer in Littleton's words:

68 Ibid., pp. 97–98.
69 Ibid., pp. 105–7.
70 Ibid., pp. 156–57.
71 Ibid., p. 98.
72 The National Archives at Kew, RG4/4600 Foreign churches: 1567–1779 Walloon Church of St. Julian or God's House of Southampton (Walloon and French Protestant), fols 103–5.
73 On the possibility of lower authorities to intervene see chapter 4, pp. 124, 125, 133.

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> By the end of the 1560s, under the watch of Jean Cousin, that small pre-Elizabethan remnant was effectively swamped by the large-scale immigration of self-proclaimed religious refugees, who came from highly Calvinist areas of France and the Netherlands. […] many immigrants who joined the stranger churches in this period were highly committed leaders of the Calvinist revolts in Flanders and Hainault in 1566–7 or targets of the extreme anti-Huguenot backlash in France in 1572.[74]

The increasing demands of the members for the psalms of Dathenus in the London Dutch Church also demonstrate this. Reformers in the Low Countries commonly used these psalms instead of the psalms of Utenhove in 1569 and 1570. John Day published Utenhove's largest psalm book in 1566.[75] London and Sandwich still used the Utenhove psalms, while all other Dutch congregations in England used the Dathenus psalms.[76] New members who favoured resistance overruled van Winghen in London, and the Sandwich minister Jacob Bucer advised van Winghen to compromise with the rest of the consistory to avoid quarrels in the church.[77] Similarly, the decision of the consistory in 1574 to replace Micronius's Catechism with the catechism of Heidelberg showed the consistory's willingness to conform with the customs on the Continent.[78]

In the Dutch Church, views on Orange and the revolt also changed in the 1570s, yet the distrust only subsided slowly. The stranger churches quarrelled mostly about the *gueux*. There was one case in which a consistory member from the congregation of Oudenaarde, Clement van Driessche, had indulged in *gueux* activities and fled to England around 1567. He now considered these *gueux* activities to have been an offence against the government and decided to seek a pardon from Margaret of Parma so that he could return to the Low Countries, but he never sent the letter off. He only joined the London Dutch Church a year and a half after his arrival. By 1571 he was elected as an elder of the London Dutch Church, even though some members had complained about his election knowing his past.[79] The realization that van Driessche offended the secular government in the Low Countries, thus sinning against the godly order, was important here as it reflected Reformed values. Van Winghen believed that the King had sent Alba because of the disorderly way in which the iconoclastic

74 Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle", p. 95.
75 Robin A. Leaver, *'Goostly Psalms and Spiritual Songes': English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535–1566* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 275–80.
76 Archivum, 2, Letter 99, pp. 332–34.
77 Ibid.
78 Acta, p. 452.
79 Ibid., pp. 196–97.

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agitation had taken place. The violent character of iconoclasm, which should have been carried out by the legitimate authorities, was, according to him, the cause of all the difficulties, politically, economically, militarily, persecutions, not to mention plague, which had affected the Low Countries by 1570. In his opinion, the plundering and iconoclasm had gravely offended Philip as it affected his Catholic beliefs.[80]

The consistories of the foreign churches did accept as members soldiers who had served armies in an orderly and disciplined way. One of the members serving in Orange's forces, Hendric Cnoop, had committed some crime while at war, and the consistory of the London Dutch Church reprehended him for that.[81] When Heindrick Tesschemakere, a soldier coming from the Continent, wanted to join the Dutch Church in 1574, the consistory decided it would first observe his behaviour for a while.[82] At the same time there were also members who neglected to frequent the church but were involved in the war in the Low Countries. In 1575 the Dutch consistory rebuked Hans van Courte and Lubbert Janssen for neglecting church attendance for a long time. They apologized and admitted having been caught up in the war and seem to have conducted themselves badly on the Continent, which might point to robbery and piracy.[83]

Since the Beggars mostly launched attacks from the English coast, it seems likely that many of them were refugees belonging to a foreign church. Van Schelven asserted the idea that a large proportion of the adult refugees residing in Dover, about 300 persons in 1571, were involved in *gueux* activities. Yet he produced little evidence supporting his assertion.[84] The Wood Beggars who operated in the area of West Flanders were members of the Flemish Church of Sandwich, as seen in chapter 4, but the churches themselves did not approve of *gueux*. There is little evidence of the Sea Beggars among the members of the Sandwich church; only six members of the Flemish congregation served the Sea Beggars, and none from the Walloon community. In 1573, Pieter Bolle and Daniel Godtschalk served under captain Jacob Baert, all of whom came from Sandwich, in order to attack Nieuwpoort, which was a strategic stronghold for Spanish supplies, but the plan failed.[85] There are indications that captains regularly attempted to recruit people in England in the name of Orange.[86] Because the operations of the privateers had a "clandestine character", the

80 Ibid., p. 102.
81 Ibid., p. 334.
82 Ibid., p. 426.
83 Ibid., p. 465.
84 van Schelven, pp. 203–4.
85 Backhouse, pp. 158–59.
86 Ibid.

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sources say little about these. The lack of information may also be attributed to the circumstance that as relatively few of the refugees came from coastal areas and therefore had little experience of seafaring, they were less likely to sign on as privateers.[87]

What the strangers in Sandwich did have in 1568 was weapons. The local authorities did not welcome armed strangers roaming about the countryside and issued warnings against them.[88] In October 1571 the Privy Council carried out an investigation into the conduct of the strangers then in England. It concluded that there were some "evil disposed people" who resided there under the guise of religion and piety. Complaints about the refugees from Philip II may have prompted the investigation. The Privy Council wanted to know about weapons that might be in the strangers' houses.[89] Upon this request in 1571, the town council of Rye wrote to the Privy Council about the strangers in this city, and in particular about what weapons these foreigners possessed.[90] In Norwich the council found in 1571 that the strangers owned two "aclyvers, dags and pistolets xlv, halberds and bylls, fower, tow, bore spears two, swords and rapers cclxx", which the authorities did not apparently consider excessive.[91]

Some members of the Southampton congregation did support Sea Beggar captains. Jean de Beaulieu, for example, provided victuals for captain Lumbres.[92] He negotiated between the privateers and the owners of seized goods. Furthermore, he granted a loan of £100 to Lumey, de la Marck, when the latter was preparing to capture Brill.[93] Perhaps the churches turned a blind eye to Beaulieu because of his diplomatic activities and his wealth. However, the foreign churches regularly corresponded on the questions of whether to admit people whom they had identified as *gueux* into their congregations and how to treat persons they suspected of having participated in the activities of *gueux*; one such enquiry came specifically from Sandwich.[94] The colloquium of the Dutch churches decided in 1577 not to allow members whom they suspected of having committed robberies on the pretext of serving Orange's cause to participate in the Lord's Supper unless they could show a commission from

87 Ibid., p. 158.
88 Kent Archives Maidstone, Sa/AC5 The New Red Book, fol. 20.
89 W.J.C. Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich. 1565–1832*. Publications of the Huguenot Society of London (Lymington, 1888), pp. 33–34.
90 East Sussex Record Office, Rye/47/2/12, 1571, November 13.
91 Moens, *The Walloons*, p. 35.
92 Public Record Office (now in The National Archives at Kew), HCA 13/18, ff. 265–266, 68–68v, 73, as quoted in Spicer, p. 135.
93 Spicer, p. 136.
94 Archivum, 2, Letter 155, pp. 573–76.

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the Prince. The colloquium had the Sea Beggars in mind.[95] A similar opinion existed among some Reformers in the Low Countries. The consistory of the Reformed Church in Nieuwkerke, in the Westkwartier, an area otherwise known for its militant Protestants, considered the matter of a member suspected of having kept company with "wild gueux" in 1577 and sought the advice of the London Dutch Church on how to proceed with the case.[96]

The Reformed churches, and the foreign churches in particular, were not entirely drawn to Orange's military cause. One of the reasons for this was the complex political and military situation in the Low Countries. Orange was not the only party in revolt, and the States General still recognized him in 1572 as "the governor general and lieutenant of the King".[97] Catholic noblemen also revolted against Alba's attempts at centralization. From 1573 onwards, Alba's replacement in the Low Countries, Don Luis de Requesens, preferred to work towards peace treaties involving all parties instead of reconquering the Low Countries by force. Orange's discourse concerning "the common cause", which the Reformed churches slowly took over and incorporated in their Protestant message in the second half of 1570s, had not only intensified hatred for Alba and his successors but also estranged its public from the king.

Especially from 1576 there were two simultaneous rebellions taking place in the Low Countries. There was the general revolt, which Orange led, but alongside that, there were several, often Calvinistic, city revolutions taking place in Flanders and Brabant; the best known of these was the revolt of Ghent, bringing about the so-called "Calvinist Republic of Ghent". Orange also tried to guide the latter, but sometimes the movements clashed, while at other times they collaborated.[98] What was the contribution of the stranger churches to a multi-layered string of events which constituted what historians have come to call the Dutch Revolt? The stranger churches were not in principle opposed to Philip, but they saw Alba and Requesens as enemies trying to restore Catholicism while persecuting Reformers. On the one hand they could not agree with Orange's disloyalty to the king unless they considered Alba to be the enemy and Orange to be the loyal defender of the king. On the other, the provincial foreign churches contained more militant Reformers and were therefore more imbued with a revolutionary outlook than were major Reformed stranger churches in London, where the devotional and elite element was more present. While Orange attempted to establish freedom of religion, the Reformers

95 Acten van de Colloquia, pp. 29–30.
96 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 435, pp. 412–13.
97 Duke, "From King and Country", pp. 126–27.
98 Rowen, "The Dutch Revolt", pp. 578–79.

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upset the delicate religious balance he promoted. From 1576 onwards the local Calvinist rebellions in Flanders and Brabant hindered the effective implementation of the Pacification of Ghent. These towns were disobedient to both Orange and to the States General.[99]

The churches in the Low Countries were more interested in their own religious agenda than in Orange's military cause. They started a missionary offensive to promote the Reformed churches in Flanders and Brabant again after the Pacification of Ghent, thereby greatly offending the Catholic parties, the States General, and even William of Orange.[100] As Koenigsberger argued, the leaders of revolutionary movements at state level, such as Orange, were not revolutionary, they had no intention to root up the social order.[101] In Ghent, Oudenaarde, Bruges, and Ypres, alternative Calvinist governments advanced the Reformed and perhaps their own political cause. Petrus Dathenus led the organization of the congregation at Ghent with the support of Jan van Hembyse, who had been involved in the 1567–1568 troubles in the Westkwartier. Koenigsberger described the installation of a Reformed-minded secular government as "revolutionary", in contrast to Orange's actions.[102] He connected the Reformed movement with a heightened revolutionary sentiment among the artisans as the city's trade had been in decline for decades.[103] In 1578 the magistrate of Ypres allowed the exercise of the Reformed religion at the request of two commissioners from Ghent.[104] This provocative act offended the wealthy Catholics, especially the Walloon nobility, in the city, who complained to Orange about it. Moderate Catholics who had supported the rebellion for political reasons, became increasingly concerned over Calvinist dominance. Meanwhile, Catholics in exile attempted to foster a Counter-Reformation movement in the Low Countries which did not compromise.[105]

Spain also played on these sentiments and drew some of the Walloon nobility to its side, in this way effectively forming a basis for military operations in

99 Ibid., p. 580.

100 Duke, "From King and Country", pp. 131–32.

101 H.G. Koenigsberger, "The Organization of Revolutionary Parties in France and the Netherlands during the Sixteenth Century", *The Journal of Modern History*, 27:4 (1955), 335–51 (p. 351).

102 Ibid., pp. 344–45.

103 Ibid.

104 *Inventaire analytique et chronologique des chartres et documents appartenant aux archives de la ville d'Ypres*, ed. Isidore L.A. Diegerick, 7 vols (Bruges, 1853–1868), vol. 6 (1864), p. 248.

105 Geert H. Janssen, "The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee: Exile and the Shaping of Catholic Militancy in the Dutch Revolt", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63:4 (2012), 671–92 (pp. 656–87).

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the southern Netherlands.[106] The Reformed movements thwarted the peace Orange attempted to keep. In their zeal, the Reformers in Ghent wanted to set up public preaching. Orange opposed this plan as it would be provocative. Jacques Taffin, army preacher under Orange and in regular correspondence with the French Church of London, warned Jacob Regius, minister at Ghent who had come from London, against the execution of the scheme. The latter talked to the consistory of Ghent about this, but they all agreed to continue the project out of zeal for the Protestant cause. Regius preached publicly in the church of the Jacobines in Ghent, but not without anxiety.[107] Orange effectively proceeded to overrule the new governments in these cities and replaced them with more moderate ones in 1579.[108] By 1583 Dathenus and van Hembyse again attempted to establish a Calvinist government in Ghent, but in 1584 the city fell in Spanish hands.[109] By this point, Orange had lost the sympathy of the Catholic nobility.

In this respect the Reformed church hesitated between loyalty to Philip or to Orange. The Reformers would probably have been happy to agree to a weakened programme of centralization under Philip, and to forsake Orange's cause, if only the king had granted freedom of conscience. This was clearly the case among a part of the Reformers in the Calvinist Republic of Bruges, as Duke has shown. Several Reformers were still hoping to seek a peaceful resolution with Philip even after 1578, with the concession to them being religious freedom.[110] This was the opinion which Petrus Dathenus propagated in 1584 and which also accorded in 1585 with propaganda from Phillips of Marnix, who was nevertheless a staunch supporter of Orange. In Phillips of Marnix's views, the war served one goal only: to achieve freedom of conscience.[111] It was precisely this that King Philip did not want to grant.

Orange cared more about the defence of political privileges and pleaded religious toleration. Reformers in the Low Countries saw a potential ally in him, but the churches in exile remained careful about the ambiguous Orange until he became Reformed in 1573. Bartholdus Willemzn, who had gone to Dordrecht as a minister from London, reported his doubts about Orange's regime in a

106 Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven/London, 2002), p. 197.

107 Archivum, 2, Letter 169, pp. 621–25.

108 Koenigsberger, "The Organization", pp. 344–45.

109 Ibid.

110 Alastair Duke, "Calvinist Loyalism: Jean Haren, Chimay and the Demise of the Calvinist Republic of Bruges", in *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, eds. Alastair Duke, Judith Pollmann, and Andrew Spicer (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 251–72.

111 Duke, "From King and Country", p. 133.

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letter to the Dutch Church in January 1573. He argued that the victories and progress that Orange had made were due to God, rather than to military and strategic adeptness, and he noted that the Prince collaborated with Catholics. He was afraid that the future of Holland would be bleak as he believed that people might turn against Orange. What if, he wondered, the Spanish captured Haarlem and denounced Orange's tyranny to the citizens? Would the other cities start questioning Orange's tyrannical government?[112] The Dutch Reformed churches in Holland supported Orange, yet with reservations which hindered effective cooperation.[113] It is not surprising then that the foreign churches did not wholeheartedly trust Orange. This distrust of Orange affected both the older generation of refugees and those who had taken refuge in England since 1566, many of whom had initially supported Orange.

3 Men and Money: The Contribution of the Foreign Churches to the Revolt

The relationship between Orange and the Reformed churches in the Low Countries was not one of straightforward cooperation, but how and to what extent did the foreign churches contribute to Orange's war efforts and what do we know about the involvement of their members? As this section will demonstrate, the strangers remained uncertain for a long time about Orange's plans and therefore hesitated to provide financial support. The foreign churches were not bulwarks of resistance; instead Orange's agents had to travel around England to collect money from a broad base of people. English donors were important contributors.[114] Foreign Protestants procured the services of English captains using various intermediaries such as the stranger churches, nobles, merchants, and privy councillors.[115] Yet, this cooperation often resulted from direct pressure, or even threats, from Orange, from church members, or the English government.[116] Orange troubled the stranger churches for help with the recruitment of soldiers and for money.[117] The stranger churches' help turned out to be disappointingly meagre, producing smaller contributions than Orange had expected. In 1573, Orange described his frustration with the

112 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 222, pp. 195–96.
113 See Jelsma, 'The "Weakness of Conscience"'.
114 Trim, "Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'".
115 Ibid., p. 97.
116 For evidence on Norwich refugees, via the churches, paying for a group of members leaving for the Low Countries in 1572, presumably to fight for Orange, see chapter 6.
117 Trim, "Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'", p. 109.

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ingratitude and lack of affection of the foreign churches in England towards his cause and the "deliverance of their poor brethren".[118] The reason for his disappointment probably lay in the combination of Orange's constant search for funds and his confusion between the churches as institutions and their wealthy members. The churches could not force the wealthy members, who also bore the burden of maintaining the church, to donate money for Orange. In addition, many Dutch merchants living in London did not join the congregation and perhaps Orange believed the overlap between the foreigners in London and the stranger churches was greater than was in fact the case.[119] The stranger churches in England were not alone in disappointing Orange; the same was true of the German exile centres, at least in 1570.[120]

Yet on one occasion the foreign churches did actively financially support Orange; they did so in the important months in 1572 when the Sea Beggars captured Brill and Flushing. The churches had received appeals from the Reformed in Flushing. According to David Trim's calculations, the foreign churches of London, Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, Ipswich, and Yarmouth financed and sent 450 men to Brill and Flushing between April and June 1572, the majority of whom were presumably Englishmen.[121] That was indeed the case, although this claim needs some qualification, as I will show further. The church institutions alone could not afford to recruit this number of soldiers. They were constantly in arrears and complaining about a lack of money, especially with the increase in the number of refugees after 1567. In December 1571 the London French Church's poor fund was £60 in arrears.[122] The French Church's only surviving deacons' accounts for 1572 to 1573 show the financial pressure of feeding the refugees from the massacre and the help received from private Englishmen.[123] The more prosperous church members, on the other hand, could afford to help out. Two elders of the French Church, Nicholas Fontaine and Pierre du Bosquiel, lent about £10,000 to Elizabeth between 1569 and 1571: they were wealthy and had the means to support warfare in France or the Low

118 Koninklijk Huisarchief Den Haag, A 11/XIV 1/12, f. 343 r–v nr. 113 kopie secretaire, at 'http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/wvo/app/brief?nr=3017' [last accessed 10/08/2016].

119 For numbers see the Introduction, pp. 17-19 where I show that many foreigners did not join the churches.

120 Robert van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten, Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Duitsland* (*1550–1600*) (Cologne, 1968), p. 68.

121 Trim, "Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'", pp. 110–11.

122 Actes du Consistoire 11, pp. ix, 28, 40.

123 Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle", pp. 204–5, 280; Soho Square, French Protestant Church of London, Ms. 194 *Deacons' Accounts*, 1572–1573.

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Countries.[124] The constant pressure for support, however, drove many of the wealthier members away from the foreign churches.[125]

Although the churches probably delegated the collections or let a messenger from Orange collect among its community, the recruitment of paid soldiers depended on the generosity of the community, rather than on that of the church. The patrons of these soldiers could be Huguenot or Dutch émigrés, or influential Englishmen connected to the churches. John Bodley, for instance, was an elder of the French Church, while Sir Henry Killigrew assisted the French Church on occasions.[126] There is no evidence of these figures being patrons of soldiers or donating large sums of money. Yet these examples demonstrate that the churches were well-connected to English Protestants, especially English Protestants with a puritan zeal for supporting their Continental brethren against Catholic persecution.[127]

There was a difference in stance towards violence between the French and the Dutch Church. In the French Church war contributions were more acceptable because of the situation in France.[128] We do, however, find rather less information about contributions towards military and ecclesiastical efforts in the Low Countries in the documents of the French Church, though we know that some members of the French Church participated in the revolt in the Low Countries. The brothers Nicolas and Jacques Taffin, who came from an influential family in Tournai, were involved themselves in the conflict of the Low Countries.[129] They were banished from Tournai after government forces occupied that town in early 1567. Nicolas, as well as Jacques, had been on the London French Church's membership list of January 1569 and formed part of the Church's delegation that negotiated with Orange concerning its contributions that year. Nicolas favoured resistance to Alba, and he died in 1572 fighting under Louis of Nassau in the siege of Mons.[130] Jacques was an elder of the French Church, but he briefly resided in France in 1571. By 1572 he was in Flushing, where he stayed "for state affairs", while in 1573 he entered the service

124 Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle", p. 227.

125 Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 44, 135, 136.

126 Ibid., p. 78.

127 Patrick Collinson, "The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 20:5, (1964, for 1963), pp. 528–55.

128 See footnote 8 above.

129 For more biographical details concerning the Taffin brothers, Jean, Nicolas, and Jacques in particular, see Cornelia Boer, *Hofpredikers van Prins Willem van Oranje: Jean Taffin en Pierre Loyseleur de Villiers* (The Hague, 1952), pp. 9–14.

130 Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle", pp. 39–40.

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of Orange in Delft until 1583.[131] The French congregation in the period under consideration, as Littleton described it, "engaged in theological disputes which had an international audience, and acted as diplomats at the English Court for the Protestant forces in France and the Netherlands".[132] While there is no systematic evidence of the contacts, it is telling that the French ambassador La Mothe-Fénelon corresponded anxiously about the close contacts between leading Protestants of the English Court and the ministers of the stranger churches, French minister l'Oiseleur in particular.[133] Moreover, the latter acted as political agent in England to the Prince de Condé, the Huguenot leader in the first war of religion in France.[134]

The French Church also counted other members who were fighting in the Low Countries. A nameless soldier returned from Flushing in 1572 without a passport, cause for the consistory to question him. This account also shows that the consistory of the French Church was in contact with Jacques Taffin.[135] This is also clear from Taffin's report to the minister Jean Cousin on the lack of ministers in Holland and Zeeland. The French Church expressed its concerns to the Dutch Church.[136] It is evident from the consistory acts that the congregation of the French Church counted some staunch supporters of Orange. In August 1572 Herman Potay, a member, brought a letter to the consistory setting out proposals for Orange's military campaign. The consistory answered that nothing more should be done or discussed as the church and congregation showed their opinion in these affairs clearly enough in their actions and prayers.[137]

The Canterbury Walloon Church contained another member who was involved in the Low Countries with Orange. Pierre Du Brusle was suspected of brigandage and highway robbery in the Low Countries. The Walloon church banned him from communion as long as Du Brusle was dishonest about "his commission". Du Brusle decided to return to the Low Countries to obtain a justification of his actions from Orange.[138] It is not clear what happened next. Jacques Cornills received the same charge in 158, when he was accused of fighting on the side of the "enemies". Who the enemy was, whether this was in the

131 Ibid., pp. 39–40; Actes du consistoire II, p. 94.
132 Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle", p. 70.
133 Ibid., p. 122.
134 Ibid.
135 Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 89–90.
136 Acta, p. 411.
137 Actes du Consistoire II, p. 88.
138 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, pp. 14, 24, 29, 129; CCA, U47/A/1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fols 14, 20, 24, 29, 119.

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Low Countries or France, is not clear, but it shows the potential financial motivations of soldiers and the ignorance concerning Reformed doctrines of the members.[139] Another member of this church, Lambert Copin, had returned from "the war" in 1577 after departing suddenly and leaving his family "altogether destitute". The consistory wanted to know how he had behaved "beyond the sea".[140] Going beyond the sea was not uncommon, as we learn from the records of the Walloon Church at Canterbury, but even abroad, the church wanted to oversee the behaviour of their members. It reported that a certain member called Gabry had behaved badly in the Low Countries, while Jan Binet had acted abominably on a voyage to the Low Countries.[141] Moreover, the colloquium of the French churches in England added an article to their Discipline in 1583 which stipulated that they could not allow members returning from the Continent who had partaken in Catholic rites or in crimes or scandalous behaviour to attend the Lord's Supper without publicly repenting.[142]

The Walloon/French Church of Southampton openly supported Orange as early as 3 September 1568, when they held a fast for the Prince of Orange who "had descended from Germany into the Low Countries to try with God's help to deliver the poor churches there from affliction; and now to beseech the Lord most fervently for the deliverance of His people".[143] In 1570 they held another fast, this time to commemorate the battle of Jarnac of March 1569 in which the Prince of Condé, the French Huguenot leader, died. While in 1572 the congregation of Southampton attempted to gather help for Orange, they called Alba:

> that cruel tyrant; and also, principally, for that the churches of France have suffered a marvellous and extremely horrible calamity – a horrible massacre having been perpetrated at Paris on the 24th day of August last, in which a great number of nobles and of the faithful were killed in one night, about twelve or thirteen thousand; preaching forbidden throughout the kingdom, and all the property of the faithful given up to pillage

139 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581–1584*, p. 20; CCA, U47/A/2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 11.

140 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, p. 66; CCA, U47/A/1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 61.

141 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, p. 83; CCA, U47/A/1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 77.

142 Colloques et Synodes, p. 7.

143 Archives of Registrar General at Somerset House, Register of the Church of St. Julian, or God's House, of Southampton, now in TNA, RG4/4600 Foreign churches: 1567–1779 Walloon Church of St. Julian or God's House of Southampton (Walloon and French Protestant), fol. 103, as quoted in Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland* (New York, 1868), pp. 116–18.

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> throughout the kingdom. Now for the consolation of them and of the Low Countries, and to pray the Lord for their deliverance, was celebrated this solemn fast.[144]

They held further fasts, according to Smiles, "to maintain her majesty the Queen in good friendship and accord with the Prince of Orange", in favour of the poor, for the people of Antwerp after the sack of that city in 1585, against the infliction of the plague, and on the occasion of the observation of a comet.[145] On 28 April 1580 there was a fast because of an earthquake which was felt in England, Picardy and the Low Countries, and to "protect the poor churches of Flanders and France against the assaults of their enemies, who have joined their forces to the great army of Spain for the purpose of working their destruction."[146] The congregation also celebrated a "public thanksgiving" for the defeat of the Spanish Armada.[147]

One church we do not know much about, next to the smaller, provincial churches, is the Italian Church. This church could have been very interesting for the question of the revolt as its members were largely Dutch merchants despite the church being Italian.[148] Some of its members had engaged actively in the iconoclasm and resistance from 1566 onwards. Two members out of about fifty Dutch members of that church at that time had been involved in *gueux* activities.[149] Anthonius van den Rijne, who moved from London to Dover in October 1569, and Jacques Cabillau were members of the Sea Beggars in 1569. Orange also commissioned van den Rijne to buy warships in 1571. The church member Leonard de Casembroot "undertook embassies" for Orange, and for Salvador and Marcus de le Palma, merchants from Middelburg. He had also collected money and troops for Orange in 1572. The Italian Church attracted Dutchmen who disagreed with the policies in the Dutch Church, for instance about the use of violence and right of resistance.[150] The Italian Church witnessed a change in its composition from 1569 onwards since many returned to

144 Ibid.

145 Ibid., p. 118.

146 TNA, RG4/4600 Foreign churches: 1567–1779 Walloon Church of St. Julian or God's House of Southampton (Walloon and French Protestant), as quoted in Smiles, *The Huguenots*, pp. 118–19.

147 Ibid.

148 Unity in Multiformity, pp. 25–26. See chapter 1 for an explanation for the large number of Dutchmen among the members of the Italian Church.

149 Ibid.

150 Unity in Multiformity, pp. 25–26.

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the Dutch Church, probably because of a change of policy concerning resistance after the struggles between 1565 and 1568.[151]

Many refugees were optimistic about Orange's second invasion in 1572. The congregation of Yarmouth, which the English government had officially recognized in 1570 but had existed since 1568, seemed happy to return to the Low Countries in 1572. The congregation asked for financial aid from the Dutch Church in London in 1572 and stated that the community had started to break up and began to return to the Low Countries in support of the Reformation since they felt a victory for the Reformers was near. The consistory begged the London Dutch Church to let go of anyone who wanted to go to Zeeland. They mentioned that they had connections with a certain captain Jacob de Zwiger at Flushing and that harquebusiers were much wanted there.[152]

Reformed churches in the Low Countries also sought help for Orange when their town was under siege. In May 1572 the Reformed at Antwerp had asked Orange for assistance against Alba, but the former only wanted to aid them if the churches assisted him with money. Not having the necessary funds, the Antwerp church decided to write to the London Dutch Church for support, describing the cruelties which Alba's troops inflicted upon the population in order to solicit aid.[153] Similarly, the help the Dutch churches sent to Flushing in 1572 came at the request of the community of Flushing in April that year. Flushing sent a desperate letter to the Dutch churches in England begging for some soldiers and financial support. They promised to repay the loan. Their motivation seems to have been religious freedom, since they declared that "the affair is bound up with the glory of God, the honour of the king (of Spain) and the common welfare of the Netherlands". The Sea Beggars had overtaken the town. The letter also shows that they had "received the troops of Orange within our walls, partly in order to feel more secure, partly to avoid the suspicion of contriving anything against the king".[154]

Requests for financial support either went directly to the exile communities or first to London from where the Dutch Church spread the message to the other churches. In May 1572 Ipswich collected £15 "towards the assistance of our country" after London had sent a messenger to them, but it is not clear where the money went. Ipswich reported that five or six men had departed for Brill, probably to defend the city, three of which they had kitted out themselves

151 Ibid., pp. 28, 33; see also chapter 1.

152 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 187, pp. 163–64; For more information about Jacob de Zwigere see C. Rooze-Stouthamer, *De opmaat tot de opstand: Zeeland en het centraal gezag* (Hilversum, 2009), pp. 105, 106, 151, 217, 234, 241.

153 Archivum, 2, Letter 113, pp. 400–402.

154 Ibid., Letter 112, pp. 397–99.

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before the letter from the Dutch Church together with a commissioner for the purpose arrived.[155] Colchester replied by sending twenty-two harquebuses to Flushing, promising also seven or eight men to deploy them. Six to eight people had already left their community for Flushing a fortnight earlier, some of whom hired a ship with provisions.[156] By June 1572, letters from Orange to the foreign churches in England followed in which he exhorted them to support him generously.[157] The London Dutch Church collected money for Orange in the summer of 1572 and one of the deacons went to Sandwich for the collection.[158] The next letter which the Dutch Church received was a call for help from Enkhuizen in July 1572. The Reformed Church there asked for munition, artillery, and other provisions.[159]

In October 1572, the Dutch Church's deputy in Flushing, Lieven de Herde, reported that the Prince of Orange demanded 25,000 guilders from the town of Mechelen. The inhabitants suggested that he should sell or melt St Rombout's shrine, but instead he appointed guards "to preserve the idols". This deepened the distrust of Orange. The Spanish, however, seized it in a counterattack and did not show any regard for ecclesiastical property when they in turn robbed clergy and citizens.[160] Another example of this distrust is the case of Captain Middeler, who was suspected of exploiting the hospitality of the stranger churches. He had gathered 125 soldiers in England at the commission of Orange, or at least so he said. The company passed through Norwich and Yarmouth, but the Dutch consistory of Norwich was suspicious of him as he was unable to show his letter of commission from Orange as his servant and as "his trunk" with the documents had not arrived yet. The Norwich consistory hoped that the London churches, where the captain had previously resided, might have seen the letters. Perhaps they jumped to the conclusion that Middeler was a privateer with the Beggars, intent on plundering the Low Countries.[161] The churches distinguished between reputable captains in the service of Orange and those suspected of robbery. In 1577 the Norwich Dutch Church asked the London Dutch Church for advice concerning an Englishman who had assisted several captains of Orange by lodging them but now felt harassed on that account, "as if he had harboured robbers and thieves".[162]

155 Ibid., Letters 114, 116, pp. 403–4, 408–9.
156 Ibid., Letter 115, pp. 405–7.
157 Ibid., Letter 118, pp. 412–19.
158 Acta, p. 287.
159 Archivum, 2, Letters 119, 120, pp. 420–22, 423–25.
160 Ibid., Letter 122, pp. 430–36.
161 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 195, pp. 166–67.
162 Ibid., Letter 437, p. 416.

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Communications between the stranger churches and the Prince of Orange were often problematic. This is clear from a letter from December 1572. The correspondent Jan Vander Beke seemed to be under the impression that Orange had reached an agreement with the stranger churches on what he called "a double mortgage". It turned out that the French minister Jacques Taffin, who resided in Flushing at that point, had discussed the possibility with Orange, but there were no concrete plans.[163] Usually the Dutch Church held aloof from supporting Orange as they constantly complained that his demands were too high. For instance, van Winghen was happy to send a few soldiers every month but not two thousand soldiers, which he believed to be Orange's request, while at the same time complaining that so little of what they sent seemed to reach Orange.[164] Orange on the other hand constantly complained about the stinginess of the Netherlanders and the stranger churches in particular.[165] He considered the poor more generous than the rich.[166]

Ordinary members of the congregations, in contrast with the ecclesiastical elite in London, were indeed quick to join forces in the Low Countries. In 1572 ninety Walloons and fifteen or sixteen Flemish members of the foreign churches of Norwich had departed for the Low Countries. Where they went and for what reason is not clear. They might simply have settled in some town in the northern Netherlands favourable to the Reformed religion, or they might have joined the Sea Beggars or Orange's army. The latter seems more likely since Norwich claimed to have "fitted out" the party for £160,[167] which refers to military outfits. An additional reason why so many people departed might have been poverty. The Norwich consistory complained that they hardly found the money to pay for the outfits as many of its members were very poor. They also had to sustain the widows and orphans of twenty-five to thirty dead men whom they had previously sent to the Low Countries as soldiers.[168]

The enthusiasm of the Norwich consistory came from their belief that they would soon be able to return to the Low Countries, for which event they started preparing through new elections.[169] By June 1573 Norwich collected £95 pounds "in support of the fatherland" and prepared to send over more soldiers for Orange. The congregation explained some of the reasons behind

163 Ibid., Letter 215, pp. 186–88. The meaning of the double mortgage is not clear to me.
164 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 215, p. 187. He probably meant that much of the money got stuck with middling persons and mercenaries.
165 Ibid., Letter 215, p. 187.
166 Ibid., Letter 226, p. 201.
167 Ibid., Letter 197, pp. 168–69.
168 Ibid.
169 Ibid.

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their decision to send these. They stated that many members wanted to participate because of their poverty, trade being in decline. The soldiers' families would be maintained on half of their pay. The church wanted more control over their members and finances. They wanted to make sure that plundering would cease, and that their money would not be spent on Frenchmen "and other strangers".[170] The Synod of Dordrecht in August 1574 discussed the large number of poor coming over to the Low Countries from England, and how to deal with them.[171] One can perhaps wonder how beneficial these strangers were to the local economy. In 1574 English authorities sent out orders that London and Norwich should stop receiving refugees.[172]

During 1572 several congregations had contributed financially to the resistance in the Low Countries. In January 1573 the London Dutch Church compiled a summary of contributions they had made for "the progress of the common cause of our fatherland towards the revolt of Flushing". It began by observing that the church only contained four hundred and fifty to five hundred men, the majority of whom were poor handicraftsmen, and only forty or so "of moderate qualification or condition, being engaged in commerce".[173] The community had in the first instance gathered £1400 for Flushing and, with some extra aid collected "by benevolent Englishmen and merchants of our nation", they spent this money on engaging two hundred soldiers which they sent to Flushing provided with ammunition. It is unclear where the £1400 came from, perhaps some members collected it through wealthy contacts, but the church itself only provided a mere £181.[174] These were very large sums for the churches, though they were relatively small in comparison with the wealth of some members. Some other members fitted out up to fifty more men at their own expense and sent them to Flushing or Brill. In addition, the Dutch Church had also made a collection on commission from Louis of Nassau, brother of Orange, and then collected some more money on receiving the request of 1572 sent by Orange. They also covered the expenses of a correspondent from the church to Flushing, Jan vander Beke, presumably to keep them informed about the Low Countries.[175]

Soon, however, the Reformers began to have reservations about the armed struggle and were unable to provide more funds. Not all the Reformed foreigners were happy with the intervention of Orange in the Low Countries. In 1573

170 Ibid., Letter 257, pp. 232–33.
171 Ibid., Letter 300, pp. 265–66.
172 Ibid., Letters 293, 304, pp. 259–60, 268–69.
173 Archivum, 2, Letter 123, pp. 437–42.
174 Boersma, "Vluchtig voorbeeld", p. 190; Archivum, 2, Letter 123, pp. 437–42.
175 Archivum, 2, Letter 123, pp. 439–44.

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one member of the Dutch Church had publicly declared at the Royal Exchange that if he were a Hollander, he would kick Orange out.[176] By February 1573, the Dutch Church received yet another letter from Orange complaining that he wanted more financial support and arguing that the war had turned into a war against international Protestantism. "I do not doubt", wrote Orange, "that you will feel ashamed of seeing the Hollanders more inclined to this cause than yourselves".[177] A commissioner and the consistory worked together to make another collection for Orange.[178] In a letter of 31 October 1573 Orange declared that the three London churches could easily furnish large sums and he demanded 1000 crowns a month to be delivered to him without the trouble it had cost in the past to get money from the churches.[179] As Orange had not received anything by December 1573, he sent a deputy to England to demand 2000 Carolus guilders from the refugee churches in recompense of the same amount which he had granted to the town of Veere.[180] The stranger churches did not comply with the request.

Their distrust of Orange was not entirely unfounded. In June 1574 several noblemen who had served Orange but had not received their payment had come forward and tried to claim their expenses from the Dutch Church. The consistory replied that it had authority in church matters and discipline only, and since they had no power over their members, they could not comply with the request. They pointed out that they had not been able to assist Orange in any way other than by asking some of their contacts to be generous towards him. Moreover, they claimed, the poverty of the congregations was such a burden that the church was already in arrears and could not contribute. Lastly, they stated that even if they were able to demand contributions from their members, "they would not think it advisable to do so on this occasion, for fear of prejudicing the Prince, as he would seem to have permitted these Noblemen to depart, without paying them".[181]

In 1575 the Classis of Walcheren exhorted the Dutch and French refugee churches in England to be more generous as it had heard complaints from Orange.[182] In September 1575 Orange wrote again, this time to request them to send one hundred iron cannons to Holland.[183] Two months later, in

176 Acta, p. 354.
177 Ibid., Letter 125, pp. 445–53.
178 Acta, p. 319.
179 Archivum, 2, Letter 129, pp. 471–76.
180 Ibid., Letter 132, pp. 490–92.
181 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 292, pp. 258–59.
182 Archivum, 2, Letter 138, pp. 513–16.
183 Ibid., Letter 140, pp. 520–21.

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November 1575, Maidstone told the London Dutch Church that it had received letters from a certain Lieven de Herde, who commissioned soldiers in the name of Orange. Three members had volunteered and the congregation was willing to equip them but to question the sincerity of Lieven as they had not received a copy of his commission.[184] Several months later, in January 1576, Philips of Marnix asked the Dutch Church for support for Orange.[185] In 1577 it replied to the Classis of Walcheren in communication with Marnix that it would furnish one hundred pounds, but that it could do no more as it had already supported churches in the Low Countries and England which gravely burdened it. The consistory stated that it regretted not being able to satisfy the high expectations many people had of the congregation.[186]

The Queen's prohibition of any dealings with Orange in 1576 prompted suspicions about the Prince of Orange in Norwich.[187] Jan Lamoot, who had belonged to the anti-resistance party in London in 1571 but seems to have been in Norwich in 1576, wrote to the Dutch Church in London that year that "the head of the Prince carried two faces". He referred to the doubt in Reformers' minds, not about the aim of the prince but about the means through which he was conducting the war.[188] The consistory of Sandwich held similar views and hoped that the behaviour of the Prince of Orange would not in any way prejudice its community.[189] The Walloon Church in Canterbury hoped for a reconciliation but took Elizabeth's side. It argued that if the prince had unjust quarrel with Alba, they would not support him, and even less if he had done injustice to Elizabeth.[190] The stranger churches did endorse missions to reconcile Elizabeth with Orange, in consultation with Walsingham. The foreign churches shared the expenses, although there were disputes over what share each congregation should pay.[191] The Dutch Church of Norwich thought the whole matter wholly unnecessary and objected to paying their share of the costs of negotiations on the grounds that Elizabeth had confirmed by letter that the case would not affect the merchants of the town.[192]

The archives of the churches reveal fewer, indeed barely any, requests from Orange in the second half of the 1570s. The foreign churches would not have

184 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 365, pp. 352–53.
185 Archivum, 2, Letter 154, p. 572.
186 Ibid., Letter 156, pp. 577–80.
187 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 401, pp. 380–81.
188 Ibid.
189 Ibid., Letter 402, pp. 381–82.
190 Ibid., Letter 405, pp. 384–85.
191 Ibid., Letters 443, 444, pp. 421–22. See also Boer, *Hofpredikers*, pp. 30–42.
192 Ibid., Letter 459, pp. 434–35.

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been in a good position to contribute as many of the migrants had left their congregations after the Pacification of Ghent in 1576.[193] From the middle of the 1580s we again see requests for war contributions for the Low Countries. In January 1584 an English colonel, named "Cruwell", was recruiting 600 soldiers at the charge of the Prince of Orange but because of a shortfall in his budget, he wanted the stranger churches to offer financial support. The Dutch Church simply answered that they could not do anything because they did not have the money.[194] In the meantime, Jan vander Beke kept the Dutch Church abreast of events in the Low Countries. He reported the murder of Orange on 10 July 1584 in a letter dated 13 July 1584. He also advised the churches to collect gold for the Low Countries.[195] Requests for support came from both the Low Countries and the English Court, which entered into the war nearly a year after Orange's death.

4 The Influence of Queen Elizabeth's Attitude towards Intervention in the Low Countries

Elizabeth attempted to balance giving covert help to Orange and the Reformers in the Low Countries with the interests of Anglo-Spanish and English trading interests. The queen wished to use trade negotiations to her advantage, and knew that Orange could play a pivotal role in the opening up of trade with Antwerp; on the other hand, she did not want to interfere directly in the Low Countries. In 1571 Francis Walsingham had promoted a French invasion of Flanders.[196] English support was already evident in the Low Countries where many Englishmen served as mercenaries, but this again was dependent on Elizabeth's changing diplomatic strategies. In 1572 Elizabeth recalled Sir Humphrey Gilbert from the Netherlands where he had been aiding Orange with 800 Englishmen. Elizabeth, in order to stay on good terms with Spain, publicly claimed that Gilbert had gone to the Low Countries against her wishes.[197] At the same time Elizabeth prohibited trade with the Low Countries on several occasions. The Sandwich city council complained vehemently about the strangers regularly violating Elizabeth's ban of 1568 on trade with the Low Countries.[198] In November 1571 the Privy Council again forbade the foreigners

193 de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge*, 1, p. 227.
194 Acta, p. 700.
195 Archivum, 2, Letter 212, pp. 774–78.
196 Martin A.S. Hume, *Lord Burghley: a Study in Elizabethan Statecraft* (London, 1898), p. 265.
197 Ibid., pp. 283–84.
198 Kent Archives, Maidstone, Sa/AC5 The New Red Book, fol. 41v.–42.

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in England to trade with the Low Countries and told the stranger churches to conduct their commerce through Emden and Hamburg instead.[199]

The Reformed Protestants and Orange had prominent supporters in England. English Evangelicals felt indirectly threatened by the wars of religion in France and the harsh persecutions in the Netherlands for these signified an attack on Reformed beliefs in some of the countries nearest to England. Robert Horne, the Bishop of Winchester, and Bishop Edwin Sandys of London petitioned the queen to assist Orange and Montgomery in 1573 as well as raising money for the revolt. The queen had "sent Horne's nephew on a secret mission in November 1572 with letters to the Duke of Saxony, the Elector Palatine and the Marquis of Brandenburg".[200] In 1572 a Dutch Church, presumably that of London, also acted as an intermediary between Flushing and the queen in the hope that Elizabeth would take over the town.[201] It seems very likely that the stranger churches sent further deputies to the queen to urge her to intervene in the war in the Low Countries, or that is at least to what some of the letters of the Archivum imply.[202] Orange also had some prominent supporters among the English privy councillors and nobility, such as Francis Walsingham, Pembroke and Burghley.[203] London merchants also had commercial interests in keeping Antwerp in friendly hands.[204] Many of the captains serving in the Low Countries on Orange's commission in the 1570s were actually English. In that respect, the stranger churches' assistance indeed formed part of the English military efforts.[205]

The English government also influenced the foreign churches' behaviour towards Orange. When trade negotiations with Spain reopened in 1573, the English decided not to support Orange so openly.[206] The churches also had to comply with the orders of the Privy Council in 1576 not to help Orange any longer since they had received numerous complaints about the *gueux* seizing English ships.[207] The Beggars now seemed to jeopardise the vital trade with Antwerp, which had been recently renewed.[208] From 1578 onwards, the

199 Actes du Consistoire II, p. 34.
200 *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, II: 1568–79*, ed. Martin A.S. Hume (London, 1892), pp. 446, 468, as quoted in Spicer, p. 132.
201 *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, vol. 10: 1572–1574*, ed. Allan James Crosby (London, 1876), Letter 558, p. 176.
202 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 410, p. 392.
203 Trim, "Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'", pp. 111-119.
204 Ibid., p. 114.
205 Trim, "Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'".
206 Ibid., pp. 123–24.
207 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 401, pp. 380–81.
208 Trim, "Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'", p. 124.

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English government again played a larger role in the revolt and English patrons had more freedom to send help on their own initiative.[209]

The foreign churches obeyed, at least in principle, to English laws. The churches considered what to do with members who traded with "the enemy of our religion" and provided them with victuals, a question which arose first in Sandwich in 1573.[210] The Sandwich consistory requested advice on how they should treat members who had provided the Duke of Alba with provisions. They wanted to know whether to exclude them from the Lord's Supper, whether to warn them, or to connive in it.[211] This was a tricky question in London as well, since the members suspected some of the elders and deacons of the London Dutch Church of providing Alba with victuals. Although the Dutch Church did not want any of its members dealing in victuals, the consistory decided to gloss over this affair by simply reading out a document on this matter with the names of some suspects to the congregation.[212] They dealt with other suspects differently. The consistory had persisted in charging another member and merchant, Lieven van de Vive, for delivering victuals and for constant fighting, though the latter denied the accusations.[213] The French Church decided in April 1573 that especially those who supplied or sold weapons to "the enemies of Christianity" should receive the capital punishment according to the English law.[214] In April 1573 the French Church decided that such people should no longer be considered as brethren.[215] In March 1584 the church at Sandwich again raised the mater as to how to deal with those who traded with the Catholics. The consistory of the Dutch Church replied that such conduct was reprehensible.[216] The absence of earlier references to this matter may of course simply reflect gaps in the sources, for already in 1569 the Privy Council had instructed the stranger churches not to trade with areas under Spanish rule.[217]

Elizabeth initially allowed the Sea Beggars to shelter in English ports, but in 1572 she ordered them to leave, after which they attacked Flushing and Brill.[218] The ships formed an integral part of Orange's warfare tactics and soon his

209 Ibid., p. 147.
210 Actes du Consistoire II, p. 109.
211 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 232, pp. 207–8.
212 Acta, p. 328.
213 Ibid., pp. 234, 335.
214 Actes du Consistoire II, p. 109.
215 Ibid., p. 110.
216 Acta, p. 710.
217 Ibid., pp. 30–31.
218 De Meij, *De Watergeuzen*, pp. 90–92.

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ships, under the warrant of his seal, again descended on the English coasts. Desperate for money, Orange had to resort to extortion and piracy. Beggars sailing under the commission of Orange increasingly engaged in piracy, attacking any ship they wanted to seize, rather than just enemy ships, to the growing fury of English merchants and the English Court. In 1576 the situation reached breaking point. Queen Elizabeth ordered the capture of Dutch ships, while in reprisal the Dutch arrested ships from the Merchant Adventurers in Flushing and demanded a large sum of money in return for the ships.[219] Elizabeth decided to break off her ties with Orange and expelled all captains under Orange's commission from the English coast. In August 1576 she prohibited the foreign churches from any further dealings with Orange.[220] The stranger communities had to support the maintenance of the Dutch prisoners.[221] The Sandwich strangers also refused to hire a ship to bring the prisoners back to Flushing in 1576 since they feared that they would lose the ship to the prisoners or the Spanish.[222]

Burghley and Walter Mildmay warned the foreign churches of the procedures against piracy or anyone indirectly involved in such activities.[223] Yet piracy was a widespread problem which the churches could not but condemn. The minister Johannes Cubus was fearful when his wife was crossing over from England to Antwerp, where he had taken up the ministry in 1577, lest pirates would endanger her journey.[224] The English Court wanted backing from the stranger churches in its judgement not to help Orange and accused the foreign churches of being on Orange's side and having asked him to ill-treat the English. The Walloon Church of Canterbury reacted by saying it regretted the differences between the two and that they should not render any assistance to Orange in his war and especially not if it harmed Elizabeth or England. They acknowledged Elizabeth as "our foster-mother".[225] The foreign churches continued to urge obedience to the English laws, but sometimes they closed their eyes when certain members traded with the Low Countries. The churches responded more boldly against the English government when they were required to make any payment, as with the maintenance of war prisoners and later the English intervention in the 1580s.

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219 Backhouse, p. 160.

220 Archivum, 2, Letter 151, pp. 561–64.

221 Backhouse, p. 161.

222 Ibid., p. 162.

223 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 474, pp. 452–53.

224 Ibid., Letter 508, pp. 477–78.

225 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, p. 12; CCA, U47/A/1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 13.

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In 1584 an envoy from Walsingham visited the Dutch consistory to demand the sum of £1000 which, according to Walsingham, the stranger churches had promised to give towards the liberation of the Low Countries. The Dutch Church replied that it had not formally made such a promise and that the church had already given what it could. The French Church proposed to pay £400 and wanted the Dutch to pay £600 towards the entire sum. The Dutch did not agree, saying that the French Church was richer.[226]

The English government did not give up. Representatives of the consistory had to go and see Henry Killigrew twice to explain why they had not paid.[227] In the end they seem to have made a collection of £520 towards the promised money.[228] Only a few months later the consistory considered whether to ask the French Church for money towards the poor of Ghent, but soon the attention of the churches was fixed upon Antwerp. The city had been under siege since 1584 and the Dutch Reformed Church there had appealed to the foreign churches for money to assist the poor, since, they said, the rich had all fled the city.[229] The Dutch foreign churches nonetheless also collected £60 7s. for Ghent and £150 for Antwerp.[230] Around the same time another English envoy, Richard Parrot, appeared in the congregation to appeal for more charity and generosity.[231] In 1585 the churches contributed again, equipping another thirty-four soldiers at Colchester and eighty-eight in Norwich.[232] In March 1585 a member of the London Dutch Church complained that she had not seen her husband in two years since he had joined the war in the Low Countries and had gone after other women.[233]

In July 1586 Francis Walsingham complained again to the London Dutch Church that they had not offered any financial support towards the war in the Low Countries since the start of official English involvement. He demanded that the Dutch Church furnish £800 to pay Captain Alexander Dyar whom he had contracted for another regiment.[234] The Dutch Church refused to pay, saying they did not have the means. They claimed that the Earl of Leicester had also approached them to furnish another captain, James Hennebert, with

226 Acta, p. 733.
227 Ibid., p. 734.
228 Ibid., p. 736.
229 Ibid., p. 758.
230 Ibid., pp. 759, 766.
231 Ibid., p. 755.
232 *Register of baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645 to 1728*, ed. W.J.C. Moens, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 12 (Lymington, 1905), p. vii.
233 Acta, p. 755.
234 Archivum, 2, letter 225, pp. 803–5.

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money for the equipment of Dutch soldiers. They were planning to collect money towards his cause, believing that they had thereby done their duty.[235] Walsingham considered this answer rather cold and heartless.[236] Some half-hearted letters passed between both, but the Dutch Church did not give in as it believed they were already collecting more than they could financially bear.[237] In October 1586 things turned sour again when Walsingham wrote to the Walloon and Dutch churches in England with the request to provide a number of footmen for a certain Captain Ramsy, to whom he had promised the churches' payment. He advised the churches "to make no difficulty".[238]

The Dutch Church had, however, made several contributions. Next to their usual expenses such as the maintenance of its ministers, the poor, the students, and ministers of other congregations, a book of expenses for 1586 mentions the extraordinary charges of £520 towards the regiment of Captain Morgan, £200 pounds in two collections for the poor of Antwerp, £60 for captain Zuderman of Ostend, £92 for Captain Vander Cruce, and £200 for the said Captain Hennebert. They pointed out that a large proportion of the Dutch foreigners in the city, especially the rich ones, did not belong to the church, which largely attracted poor members and craftsmen.[239]

The English government wanted the foreign churches to contribute towards the defence of England, but the churches usually had to excuse themselves on account of poverty. The wealthier Dutchmen living in England were often not members of the foreign churches, but their presence contributed to the belief among the secular English government that the stranger churches were wealthy and had connections to these merchants.[240] When England prepared for the arrival of the Spanish Armada, the government demanded that the stranger churches negotiate with the mayor of London to approach the rich Dutch and French merchants in the city in order to contribute to the defence of England.[241]

5 Conclusion

Orange and his representatives, and in the end also English diplomats, constantly badgered the strangers to contribute to the revolt in the Low Countries.

235 Ibid., Letter 226, pp. 806–7.
236 Ibid., Letter 227, pp. 808–9.
237 Ibid., Letters 228, 229, pp. 808–13.
238 Ibid., Letter 231, p. 816.
239 Ibid., Letter 233, pp. 818–19.
240 Ibid., Letter 239, pp. 832–33.
241 Ibid., Letter 236, pp. 826–27.

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Reluctance to contribute to Orange's campaigns and distrust of Orange lingered into the later 1570s and, even the 1580s among the foreign churches. In that respect the support they gave to the attack on Brill and the relief of Flushing in 1572 was an exception. Usually, their willingness to collaborate by sending money, arms, and soldiers depended on their financial situation, the consistories' views on Orange and his "ungodly" war tactics, and the diplomatic relations between England and the Low Countries. The churches did not unequivocally support Orange's campaigns. Even when they made an effort in 1572, the Dutch Church itself only managed to furnish a small part of the money which they helped collect around that time; most of it probably came from wealthy English and foreign patrons. To a greater extent than has previously been acknowledged, the English government influenced the behaviour of the foreign churches. While some of the foreign churches were happier to contribute than others, the sums they were able to furnish were relatively small in comparison with the costs of war. The men among the refugees who did decide to join the Sea Beggars or other military campaigns in the Low Countries often did so as a means of gaining employment.

Throughout this period, it was the view of the London churches that resistance to tyranny had to be done lawfully and carried out in an orderly fashion. This had been their attitude with respect to the public preaching and prison breaking in the Low Countries, and even to iconoclasm. This view continued to influence their perception of Orange and the Sea Beggars in the 1570s. In this respect, too, as this chapter shows, the foreign churches were far from being bastions of militancy during the 1570s. They condemned many of the activities of the Sea Beggars and found it difficult to see how people who had engaged in ungodly forms of warfare could possibly form part of their community of the elect. While refugees in the English provinces were quicker to give their support to the revolt in the Low Countries, the Dutch Church in London, and in particular those who joined that congregation before the image breaking acts tended to be conservative in outlook and to take a moderate position vis-à-vis events in the Low Countries and the English government. We do not know exactly what contribution the French Church made, but I believe that their largest influence came through their extensive mercantile networks and their diplomatic connections. The French Church naturally also had strong links with France and a strong interest in the wars of religion there. They did collect at least £400 at the request of Walsingham around 1585 while the Dutch Church contributed £872 to military efforts in the Low Countries between 1584 and 1586.

This might look like a significant contribution to the war in the Low Countries, but perhaps still larger contributions might have been expected given the wealth of some of its members. Orange and Walsingham were

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forever urging the churches to be more generous. They did not conceal their disappointment with the foreign churches for not contributing as much as they would have liked. The churches themselves probably could not contribute more, since the majority of their members were poor. Perhaps the wealthy church members could have contributed more, and some had probably donated privately, but these started to leave the stranger churches in favour of the English parish churches and were reluctant to contribute both to the poor relief funds of the parish church and look after their own poor. The presence of the foreign churches in England did, however, mean that it was easier for Orange, his advisers, and the English Court to gain access to Protestant diplomatic and mercantile networks comprising both locals and individuals of Netherlandish and French origins.

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CHAPTER 6

The Foreign Churches and the Reformation, 1567–1585

While William of Orange fought against the Duke of Alba and his successors, the consistories of Reformed churches in the Low Countries attempted to strengthen their grip on religious life. In the 1570s the foreign churches in England increasingly received requests for help towards the maintenance of Reformed churches in the Low Countries. An examination of how the foreign consistories responded to these appeals will allow us better to appreciate their role in the Dutch Revolt between 1567 and 1585. This chapter will look at the mutual support mechanisms among foreign churches in England to assess how many of the churches were in a position to do more than maintain themselves.

The foreign churches were above all concerned with maintaining Dutch Reformed Protestantism rather than with Orange's political revolt. The churches entertained two plans for this during the period under consideration and attempted to keep a balance between both. First, the foreign churches worked to ensure that the provincial congregations in England remained viable so that, should it prove impossible to obtain religious freedom in the Low Countries, these could provide a place of refuge. They also wanted to strengthen the Reformed churches in the Low Countries, should the cause of the Reformation there flourish. At the same time the Reformed churches in the Low Countries developed their own networks and ecclesiastical practices. Some, but not all, of the stranger churches wanted to adopt such new ecclesiastical practices in order to ensure a smooth transition should new streams of refugees arrive.

Though the churches sent both money and ministers to the Low Countries, their need to care for their own churches, the multiplicity of requests from the Low Countries, and their own position alongside the Elizabethan church settlement limited their potential to help. The foreign churches were not, in fact, able to satisfy all the demands for financial support, not even urgent appeals for help from towns in difficulties because of the war. Reformed churches also had their own poor members to support, and their systems of poor relief proved attractive to people with Reformed inclinations. Poor relief proved a heavy financial burden for the consistories but also provided them with a

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chance to assert control over the behaviour of their members.[1] Adequate means of poor relief might have gained the churches moral sympathy for their helpful attitude towards the deserving poor from the locals. This chapter will focus on the impact of these aspects on the stranger churches' relationship with the Reformation in the Low Countries between 1567 and 1585.

1 Mutual Support among Foreign Reformed Churches in England

While there was a short period in the 1570s when the foreign churches did assist the war efforts of Orange, the promotion of the Reformation in the Low Countries soon became their first priority. Johannes Cubus, a Reformed minister in exile in England, commented in February 1578 about the Low Countries: "while the rulers of this country occupy themselves with the war, the Community might be built up, if there were an adequate number of ministers".[2] After 1570 several refugee churches started to consider how best to supply the need for ministers in the Low Countries. The foreign refugees in Frankenthal and Heidelberg proposed a meeting in Frankfurt with all the refugee communities. Thinking optimistically that they would soon be able to return from their refuge, Dutch Reformers in Frankenthal and Heidelberg believed that the churches should not provide ministers but rather prepare their own congregations for the moment when religious freedom would be established in the Low Countries. But the consistory of Maidstone saw things rather differently. They urged these churches to prepare ministers for the Low

1 Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham, "The Reformation and Changes in Welfare Provision in Early Modern Northern Europe", in *Health Care and Poor Relief in Reformation Europe*, eds. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (London/New York, 1997), pp. 1–42 (pp. 7–10); Andrew Spicer, "Poor Relief and the Exile Communities", in *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change c. 1470–1630*, ed. Beat A. Kümin (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 237–55 (p. 240). Spicer also points out on p. 240 that the Reformed in the Low Countries invited criticism that they seduced people into joining the churches by providing poor relief, thus effectively buying their support. For this comment he refers to Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 133–34, 232; Gérard Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme à Tournai jusqu'à la veille de la Révolution des Pays-Bas* (Paris, 1962), p. 138; for an interesting example of how poor relief functioned in a Reformed town see Timothy G. Fehler, *Poor Relief and Protestantism: The Evolution of Social Welfare in Sixteenth-Century Emden* (Aldershot, 1999); Timothy G. Fehler, "Armenfürsorge und die Entwicklung der Informations- und Unterstützungsnetzwerke in und zwischen reformierten Exilgemeinden", in *Praktiken der Frühen Neuzeit: Akteur – Handlungen – Artefakte*, ed. Arndt Brendecke (Cologne, 2015), pp. 245–55.

2 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 531, pp. 497–98.

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Countries immediately. Rather than supporting students, they wanted to encourage ministers currently without posts in the Low Countries to take up a traineeship in an exile church.[3] A letter from Maidstone in 1570 reveals that Isibrandus Balkius, Joris Wybo, and "many other preachers from Holland and West Friesland" thought that by receiving and training ministers who had fled abroad, they could strengthen the Reformed movement as a whole.[4]

Maidstone also advocated closer contacts between the foreign churches. Philips of Marnix, Lord of Saint-Aldegonde and advisor of William of Orange, warmed to this idea of a general Reformed meeting which first circulated among a few exiles in Maidstone, Frankenthal, and Heidelberg, and developed it through consultation with Wesel and Emden.[5] He thought Orange would benefit from the creation of a strong network of Reformed churches, which sending ministers to the Low Countries for church building would facilitate. In July 1571 he sought the endorsement of the London Dutch Church for this idea.[6] Rumours about such a plan first surfaced in the consistory acts of the London Dutch Church in November 1571. These refer to the Prince of Orange and Frederick III of Simmern, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, as stimulating and authorizing the idea. The foreign Protestant communities as well as those in the Low Countries started discussing the potential of annual meetings which eventually turned into regular synods and Classes.[7] The refugee churches in England decided to consult their superintendents about the propriety of attending synods in the Low Countries and forming Classes, but their superintendents eventually overruled both initiatives.[8] The foreign churches only formed colloquia by the second half of the 1570s, when they became concerned about the upkeep of their own churches in England.

Until the establishment of the colloquia, the foreign churches usually only communicated with one another by letter. Through these letters, the churches increasingly received requests for help from other congregations. The London Dutch Church categorized its financial obligations in 1577 as follows: they had to assist in the maintenance of other foreign churches in England, and apart from that they had civil burdens to carry such as taxes and poor relief, at a time when trade and commerce in England languished and the congregations suffered because the English authorities had prohibited them from practising

3 Archivum, 2, Letter 103, pp. 348–52.

4 Ibid. Joris Wybo, also called Georges Sylvanus.

5 Auke Jelsma, *Frontiers of the Reformation: Dissidence and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 1998), p. 113.

6 Archivum, 2, Letter 108, pp. 378–87.

7 See chapter 1; and also Archivum, 2, Letter 105, pp. 365–69.

8 Archivum, 2, Letters 110, 117, pp. 391–93, 410–11.

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certain handicrafts. The size of the community had also declined, since many members returned to the Low Countries when cities there had allowed Reformed communities from 1572 onwards. In addition, they still maintained a fund for students in Geneva and regularly sent money across the Channel for other congregations. When the Reformed communities of West Flanders applied for money in 1577, the London Dutch Church replied indignantly, pointing out all its other expenses, though they did eventually send the churches £25.[9]

The foreign churches reviewed all their burdens and came to the view that, however much they might wish to help communities in the Low Countries, their main duty was to preserve their own Reformed congregations in England. One of the reasons for the maintenance of the foreign churches was their desire to keep the privileges that had been granted to them, especially those held by the smaller provincial congregations: these could be useful were "Holland and Zeeland to be overpowered by the tyrants."[10] Places such as Dover, Maidstone, and Yarmouth were relatively poor and only had small Reformed congregations. These settlements grew up in places where travellers might need to stop off and enjoy the hospitality of the local congregations. Most immigrants passed through these places on their way to different communities. At the colloquia of the Dutch churches from 1576, one repeatedly hears complaints about poverty and increasingly the need for support for provincial churches. While receiving fewer requests for military support, the foreign churches concentrated on their own maintenance rather than collections for the war in the Low Countries. The congregations in Dover, Maidstone, and Yarmouth were particularly in need of aid, especially in the second half of the 1570s.[11] The representatives of the churches at the Dutch colloquium in 1576 decided that the churches of London, Sandwich, Norwich, and Colchester should collectively send £36 to save the other churches.[12] The foreign churches considered the maintenance of these communities with their economic and religious privileges to be essential to the survival of Dutch, Walloon, and French Reformed churches. This, perhaps, suggests that at least the London churches were not entirely confident that Orange would succeed or that his views on religious toleration in the Netherlands would prevail.

Every Reformed church required the presence of a minister, but the churches regularly experienced problems finding an appropriate minister for

9 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 521, pp. 486–88.
10 Ibid., Letter 214, pp. 184–85; Acten van de Colloquia, p. 15.
11 Acten van de Colloquia, pp. 14–15.
12 Ibid., p. 16.

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their congregations and struggled financially to maintain him. The Dutch and French colloquia of the foreign churches in England deliberated how they could give the necessary support to the smaller communities.[13] The Flemish Church of Norwich regularly failed to appear at the Dutch Colloquia in England, while communities such as Dover and Thetford were simply too poor to attend.[14] The Dutch Church rebuked the Flemish Church of Norwich for showing no interest in the colloquia and refusing to attend in 1577. They presumed that the Norwich brethren distrusted the overseas churches, perhaps because of the development of their own rites.[15] The Flemish Church of Norwich excused themselves, maintaining that "the trade" was bad at Norwich at that time, and that they also needed to make a collection for Orange.[16] Moreover, by August 1576 they had also received a request for assistance from the Reformed community at Brussels.[17] Norwich excluded itself from the foreign churches in England, and perhaps from the continental ones as well, for according to the Sandwich congregation there were cases in which members disagreeing with their consistory threatened to leave for Norwich instead of confessing their guilt.[18] By 1581 the Flemish Church in Norwich was still recalcitrant and declined an invitation for the colloquium. They refused to make any amendments to their church discipline as long as they resided in England and believed there was no need to harass them.[19] In 1584 the London Dutch Church declared in a reply to an invitation for the general Synod in Antwerp that Norwich had withdrawn itself from the colloquia of the Dutch foreign churches in England several years before.[20] The Dutch churches nonetheless remained determined to maintain the colloquia, while the French churches kept theirs going, albeit less regularly by the end of the 1580s.[21]

Needless to say, the London stranger churches were the pivotal institutions for the organization and dispatch of ministers and financial relief. They formed some of the biggest stranger communities, and were geographically centrally located, though they are probably overrepresented in exile historiography because of the richness of archival sources stemming from these institutions. Perhaps we underestimate the role played by the stranger churches

13 See chapter 1 in the present volume.
14 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 468, pp. 444–45.
15 Ibid., Letter 553, pp. 519–20.
16 Ibid., Letter 398, pp. 378–79.
17 Ibid., Letter 400, pp. 379–80.
18 Ibid., Letter 597, p. 546.
19 Ibid., Letter 731, pp. 636–37.
20 Archivum, 2, Letter 210, pp. 769–71.
21 Archivum, 3.1, Letters 537, 538, pp. 505–7.

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in Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, and Southampton simply because these lack comparable source materials. There is evidence of potential mutual support among these and the smaller congregations, yet that evidence comes for a large part from archives springing from the London churches. For the refugees in Yarmouth, for instance, little source material exists; only the London records give some indications concerning Yarmouth's appeals for help. In 1575, the Dutch community of Yarmouth had asked the Dutch Church in London for support to maintain a minister, after Jan vanden Spieghele had left to take up a post in the Low Countries in 1575. On that occasion, London had promised £4.[22] The London Dutch Church had told Yarmouth to look to the neighbouring churches for further assistance, presumably thinking of the Flemish congregation at Norwich. The Dutch Church had maintained that the neighbouring churches were better able to support Yarmouth as they were "better in numbers and power", something which Yarmouth doubted.[23] In May 1576 Yarmouth made further requests for assistance, despite being one of the larger exile communities outside London. They claimed that all the wealthy members of the community had returned to the Netherlands. They had also written to churches in Holland for help, which shows the importance they attached to maintaining their existence.[24]

The Sandwich congregation too complained in 1578 about its poverty as a result of the wealthiest members leaving the town. When the London Dutch Church received £200 through the will of Jacob Beck, a deacon of the London Dutch Church, that year, Sandwich argued that it deserved one fourth of that sum to relieve its poor since the said Beck spent much time in Sandwich practising the wool trade.[25] Poverty was so rife within the foreign churches that Jelsma and Boersma estimated that only twenty per cent of the congregation of the Dutch Church in the 1570s could have financially contributed to poor relief.[26] The stranger churches saw their numbers decline after the Pacification of Ghent in 1576. Walloon members could also go back to the Low Countries, while French refugees could return because of the Edict of Poitiers.[27] Many of the members who had fled from the Low Countries from 1567 onwards and from France after 1572 were probably still struggling by 1576 and therefore chose to seek a better future for themselves in the northern Netherlands. With the fall of the Calvinist Republic of Ghent in 1584, the capture of Mechelen by

22 Ibid., Letters 343, 353, pp. 314–15, 324–25.
23 Ibid., Letter 363, pp. 350–52.
24 Ibid., Letter 388, pp. 369–70.
25 Ibid., Letter 588, p. 541; Acta, p. 484.
26 Acta, p. xxiv.
27 Ferdinand de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1892), p. 227.

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Farnese, and the fall of Antwerp in 1585, a new migration stream from Flanders arrived in England and the Flemish church at Sandwich turned to London for support.[28]

Requests for financial support were as common as the appeal for ministers and advice. Maidstone was constantly appealing for ministers. In March 1572 Bartholdus Willemzn, whom the Dutch Church had sent to Maidstone that month, asked for advice on how to counter the heterodox views concerning the original sin held by the then minister of the Maidstone congregation, Nicasius Vander Schuere, also called Nicasius ab Horreo. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in his capacity as the superintendent of the Maidstone congregation, suspended Nicasius. Bartholdus Willemzn went there to restore order but he found that many of its members shared what he considered erroneous views.[29] The maintenance of churches thus included clearing them from unorthodox beliefs. In 1575 the Sandwich congregation similarly had to deal with unorthodox views among many of its members.[30] Though these caused serious disputes, Sandwich dealt with the controversies without any outside help; Maidstone on the other hand frequently had to solicit support from other churches.[31] Just like Yarmouth and Sandwich, Maidstone complained that many members of the congregation had left by 1574. The congregation of Maidstone could hardly support a minister after Joris Wybo left in 1574 as they could only find £2 per quarter, making £8 per year, for the

28 Acta, p. 696.

29 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 182, pp. 156–58. This presumably refers to van der Schuere's views on original sin. See letters 182 to 184.

30 Ibid., Letter 358, pp. 328–30.

31 Soon after Bartholdus Willemzn's arrival at Maidstone in March 1572, the London Dutch Church provisionally sent their minister Godfried van Winghen to Maidstone. After van Winghen served temporarily, the London Dutch Church sent Joris Wybo for the ministry at Maidstone, but the latter left in March 1574. Norwich had appealed earlier for Joris Wybo from London in July 1571, but at that point London refused to let him go. In June 1574, the Dutch Church decided to send Joannes Woudanus for the ministry at Maidstone. He did not stay too long either, as van Winghen served temporarily again at Maidstone in 1576. Later that year the congregation was able to obtain a new minister, Adrianus Obrius from Sandwich, whom some communities in Flanders attempted to engage for their own ministry in 1577. In 1578 van Winghen temporarily served there again. In 1580 and 1581 Maidstone borrowed the minister Johannes Soillot from the London Dutch Church. The town of Bassevelde asked for his ministry in September 1581 and London urged him to go. Maidstone was again in despair with the prospect of losing its minister and once more applied to London for another minister. The London Dutch Church promised them £6 to help with the maintenance of a minister if they could find one and maintained him for several years. Archivum, 3.1, letters 204, 408, 411, 453, 492, 695, 742, 743, 777, 778, 791, pp. 173–73, 390–91, 393, 427–28, 463–64, 610, 643–44, 662–63, 670–71; Acta, pp. 219–20, 418, 506.

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maintenance of a minister. They still wanted to have a minister, however, as they expected that new members might arrive.[32] Here as well, the Dutch Church declared that they could no longer solely provide for the maintenance of a minister at Maidstone. The reason London gave was also the decline of its own congregation.[33] Maidstone subsequently looked to Sandwich for help, but the result of this appeal is unknown.[34] In 1585 the Dutch Church received further requests for help from Dover and Halstead. They contributed £5 to the maintenance of the Dover minister, while searching for a minister for Halstead.[35] The Dutch foreign churches fully supported each other when they could, yet this did not mean that they formed a close-knit network, as we have seen in chapter 1.[36]

Though its operations are less well documented, the French Church in London seemed to receive fewer requests for support. The French Protestant congregations had enough ministers and could count on Geneva and Paris as bastions for the education and provision of ministers, while the French Church in London received plenty of refugee ministers. The London French Church did get some requests for money and ministers. For example, the French Church in Norwich asked the London French Church to send Mr. Maupain for its ministry in 1571, but Maupain did not go, while in October 1579 it asked for financial support.[37] A year later, the London French Church assisted the sister church of Rye when a part of the latter's community resettled in Winchelsea.[38] The colloquium of the French churches in 1583 again discussed the financial aid Rye should receive.[39] The French-speaking church in Southampton also supported other foreign churches. In 1568 the church sent £2 to the Walloon congregation in Sandwich, and £1 10s in 1569. According to Andrew Spicer, they also considered sending money for the poor to the Canterbury congregation in 1577.[40]

Apart from the ministers they sent out to other congregations, the French Church had to come to the aid of the ministers among the poor refugees who

32 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 284, pp. 252–53.
33 Ibid., Letter 290, pp. 256–57.
34 Ibid., Letter 295, pp. 261–62.
35 Acta, p. 761.
36 See chapter 1.
37 Actes du Consistoire II, p. 36; Library of the French Protestant Church of London, Soho Square, *Ms. 3 Registre des Actes du Consistoire*, 1578–1589, pp. 30, 33.
38 Actes du Consistoire II, p. 91.
39 Colloques et Synodes, p. 6.
40 Huguenot Library London (now part of UCL Special Collections at Kew) MS/J 27, pp. 8, 49 and City and Diocesan Record Office, Canterbury (now Canterbury Cathedral Archives), U47/A1, p. 81, as quoted in Spicer, p. 113.

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arrived in England after St. Bartholomew's Day massacre and who demanded special treatment. In December 1572 Edwin Sandys, the Bishop of London, sent £320 to the French Church to be distributed among the foreign churches "for the poor ministers and other French refugees in this country since the previous troubles and massacres in France".[41] Despite instances of support among the French churches, they could not help the foreign church at Bristol which its members had largely neglected in 1575 on account of poverty and the plague. The French Church had helped Bristol out in the past. Their minister returned to London at the closure of the church but promised to go back if there would be any means to re-establish a church there.[42]

Furthermore, the Dutch Church of London constantly complained about being in arrears. In 1570 it was in need of £6 for the repair of the church, while on 14 February 1574 the church was £60 in arrears for the poor, and the deacons urged for an extraordinary collection.[43] Although churches naturally claimed poverty in their accounts, there is no reason to assume that the stranger churches were wealthy as they had many financial burdens and were just church institutions whose income came mainly from gifts and collections.[44] Other financial burdens included care for the sick and provisions for the poor and orphans in times of plague which struck England several times in the 1570s. Norwich and Yarmouth suffered especially heavily in 1579, while Rye saw its community nearly decimated in 1583–1584.[45]

Lastly, the churches sponsored students who, they hoped, would graduate as ministers. It is not clear how many precisely, but the foreign churches supported a few students each year. This was also a practice adopted in other refugee churches, such as Wesel.[46] The Norwich churches and the London Dutch Church sent their students to Leiden, Geneva, or Cambridge, but students also

41 Actes du Consistoire II, p. 100.

42 Ibid., p. 169.

43 Acta, pp. 37, 399.

44 The churches supported themselves through gifts, wills, and collections. The deacons usually made collections after church services or went to their members' houses for extraordinary collections. Spicer pointed out that this was probably the case for most churches, but for some congregations there is simply not enough surviving evidence. He asserted that these collections after church services yielded about £25 per month in the London French Church in the 1570s but that in smaller congregations the contributions were very low. Spicer, "Poor Relief and the Exile Communities", pp. 241–46.

45 de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge*, 1, p. 330; Acta, p. 524.

46 Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark/Plymouth, 2011), pp. 95–96.

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wrote from Neustadt.[47] The French Church sent its students to Geneva.[48] The French colloquia often discussed this topic, for instance in 1582, when they asked for collections for the maintenance of overseas students.[49] For a brief interval in 1783 the Dutch Church also had students in Ghent, but tried to persuade them to continue their studies in Leiden, which they considered to be a safer place.[50] These students were important for the survival of the foreign churches in England, especially for the Dutch churches, but also for the Reformed churches in the Low Countries. The care for other foreign Reformed churches in England put pressure on the congregations. Nonetheless they kept all the foreign churches in England, save Bristol, going. This analysis demonstrates the churches' concern to continue collections for this purpose. The stranger churches in England saw in the survival of these English congregations a means to secure the Dutch Reformation independent of the Low Countries.

2 Support for the Reformed Churches in the Low Countries

The foreign churches in England also responded to appeals for help from churches in the Low Countries in an attempt to support the churches in event of a return from England. In March 1574 the London Dutch Church's consistory complained that many members had left or were getting ready to leave.[51] Though many returned to the Low Countries, they did not necessarily return to their home towns but went to other areas of the Netherlands, especially after the Spanish recaptured the south. Many provincial churches were convinced that the troubles in the Low Countries would soon be over, and that a general freedom of conscience would be announced, especially after the Pacification of Ghent. Religious freedom developed to some degree in Flanders and Brabant; the Reformed received four church buildings in 1578 for instance.[52] These high hopes were soon shattered as the war continued. Despite this, an unknown, but seemingly large, number of immigrants migrated to the northern

47 Raingard Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996), p. 125.

48 Charles Galton Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle Street: The French Church of London and its Congregation, 1560–1625" (PhD diss., The University of Michigan, 1996), pp. 69–70.

49 Colloques et Synodes, pp. 3, 5, 7.

50 Acta, p. 693.

51 Ibid., p. 405.

52 Guido Marnef, "The changing face of Calvinism in Antwerp, 1550–1585", in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, eds. Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, and Gillian Lewis (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 143–59 (p. 156).

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Netherlands. Leiden in particular attracted many weavers who originated from the Westkwartier before their move to England. Orange encouraged refugees from England, especially drapers, to settle in Leiden and Haarlem in 1577 and mechanics in 1578.[53] Leiden received 108 migrants from England between 1577 and 1579, 101 of whom were Southern Netherlanders and 61 came from the Westkwartier area, perhaps reflecting former industrial links between that area known for weaving and the city of Leiden.[54]

The London Dutch Church also still expected an eventual return but considered the importance of maintaining sufficient ministers for its congregation in the meanwhile.[55] Similar opinions surfaced in the Norwich Flemish Church, which considered the possibility of its returning to the Low Countries in 1581.[56] There was a general optimism about the future of the Reformed movement in the exile communities in Wesel and Emden around 1578.[57] During the 1570s, many refugees had already returned to support Orange. The return of Reformed migrants or their relocation to the northern Netherlands coincided with a reverse exodus of Catholic refugees, who fled to other parts of the Low Countries, Saint-Omer in particular, and to Cologne.[58] Returning exiles supportive of Orange could claim houses, and potentially take over official positions previously held by Catholics who had fled.[59] A return to the Low Countries was not, however, attractive to everyone, especially when it became clear that Protestantism would be suppressed in the Southern Netherlands. A majority of the refugees in England originated from the southern Low Countries, not the liberated areas in the north, and thus a move to the northern Netherlands meant that they would have to settle anew and would still be outsiders. Jesse Spohnholz has demonstrated that this was also the case for Wesel. Members

53 Archivum, 2, letter 157, 555, pp. 583–85, 521–522; on migration to the Dutch Republic see also Jan Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek, 1572–1630: Een demografische en cultuurhistorische studie* (Sint-Niklaas, 1985).

54 John Desreumaux, "Vlaamse migranten uit Engeland naar Leiden uitgeweken in de tweede helft vna de zestiende eeuw (1577–1579)", in *Het Beloofde Land: Acht Opstellen over Werken, Geloven en Vluchten tijdens de XVI^e^ en XVII^e^ Eeuw*, ed. Jaak Decaestecker, Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Westhoek, 1 (Dikkebus, 1992), pp. 93–116 (p. 94).

55 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 500, pp. 470–71.

56 Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 105.

57 Jesse Spohnholz, "Calvinism and Religious Exile during the Revolt of the Netherlands (1568–1609)", *Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, 32:3 (2014), 235–61 (pp. 251–52); Robert van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten, Nederlandse Vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550–1600)* (Cologne, 1968), pp. 130, 208.

58 Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 34.

59 Ibid., pp. 44, 79.

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from Wesel mostly originated from the southern Netherlands and were not actually able to return. Consequently, the community grew in numbers.[60] In England, however, members did not only decide to go back to their countries of origin to fight or because they were overly optimistic, and some just simply returned to Roman Catholicism.[61]

The foreign churches focused on helping to rebuild the Reformed churches in the Low Countries, rather than on supporting the war effort. In the 1570s the churches regularly joined synods in the Netherlands.[62] The colloquium of the Dutch churches in 1577 decided that it would advise all churches to send as many ministers as they could spare to serve in the Low Countries.[63] The Dutch colloquium in England of 1578 concluded that the churches should train their ablest member for this ministry.[64] While the foreign churches were struggling for their own survival, they received many requests for ministers from the Low Countries. They depleted their own stock of ministers, sometimes to the disadvantage of smaller congregations in England. In time they became less responsive to such appeals. They became especially concerned when they received appeals from congregations demanding the arrival of students before these had even graduated or finished their training. Above all, they felt that they were already making substantial contributions.

Naturally, it was the smaller congregations who arguably suffered most from the appeals for money and minsters; for them it was a struggle to maintain their own ministers and keep their congregations together in the first place. As mentioned, Maidstone in particular had its minister called away repeatedly during the period under consideration.[65] The Flemish Church at Maidstone also presumably regularly held collections for churches in the Low Countries, but we know little about these collections. We do, however, know that Maidstone sent £2 6s to the Reformed Church of Zierikzee in 1577.[66] The same Church of Zierikzee also received £12 6 s. from the Dutch churches of London and Maidstone in March 1578.[67]

Another Flemish Church which received appeals from the Low Countries was that of Norwich. Sandwich and Norwich were the largest congregations after London. Norwich received calls for help from congregations in Antwerp

60 Ibid., pp. 251–52.
61 Colloques et Synodes, pp. 9–10.
62 Acten van de Colloquia, pp. 6, 40, 66, 77, 79.
63 Ibid., p. 35.
64 Ibid., p. 53.
65 See above, pp. 98, 201, 202.
66 Archivum, 2, Letter 167, pp. 615–17.
67 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 533, pp. 499–500.

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in 1573 and 1575, which claimed that they could not afford to keep their poor relief going through the winter and were therefore in need.[68] Norwich sponsored Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch in 1575 through the donation of £21 14 s. to be shared by both.[69] The Reformed Church of Brussels requested financial assistance in 1576, though it is not clear whether Norwich responded.[70] A year later the communities of West Flanders applied for money to London, Norwich, and Colchester, and presumably also to other congregations in England. Norwich, like London, replied with indignation but did send a small, unknown gift.[71] Norwich urged the foreign churches to observe a fast day in 1576 because of the capture of Maastricht and Antwerp by the Spanish.[72]

The Flemish Church in Sandwich was one of the first ones to show an awareness of a cross-border solidarity of Reformed refugees from the Low Countries in exile in its letters. It corresponded with Dutch exile communities in other places, such as Frankenthal, Heidelberg, and Wesel, and thought about the "Nation" as an international religious community with the Low Countries as its origin.[73] Sandwich held close contacts with the Low Countries, partially owing to its geographically convenient location on the Kentish coast but also because of its leaders' militant stance towards the Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries. An incident in 1572 showed the strategic importance of this congregation. In that year the Dutch Church paid to send over a direct messenger to Sandwich in order urgently to warn the congregation of Flushing to the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre.[74] As a result of the massacre, Orange could put fewer troops into the field than expected and so lost ground.[75]

The Flemish Church of Sandwich also felt concerned about the maintenance of contacts with the Dutch Reformed churches in the Low Countries. In 1581, its consistory had asked whether the foreign churches should adopt the church order relating to censure as practised in the Dutch churches in the Low Countries. The Dutch Reformed churches there had decided to observe a censure of the ministers before the Lord's Supper at the Synod of Middelburg in 1581.[76] The consistory of the London Dutch Church had already discussed the question in 1569 since many congregations in the Low Countries used

68 Ibid., Letters 216 and 332, pp. 188–89, 302.
69 Ibid., Letter 332, p. 302.
70 Ibid., Letter 400, pp. 379–80.
71 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 522, p. 488.
72 Ibid., Letter 422, pp. 403–4.
73 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 148, pp. 105–6.
74 Archivum, 2, Letter 123, pp. 440–44.
75 Ibid., Letter 125, pp. 445–53.
76 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 738, pp. 639–40.

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this practice, but the consistory had not thought it a good idea to do so while there were quarrels in the church between the ministers and the elders.[77] John à Lasco had instituted this censure during his superintendence, but the churches had stopped using censure altogether during the quarrels of the 1560s.[78] The foreign churches found themselves seemingly caught up between their own practices in England and loyalty to the Reformed churches in the Low Countries, but still attempted to support them financially. Sandwich had to deal with an appeal for financial help in November 1575 from the churches under the Cross at Nieuwkercke, Comen, and Wervik in the Westkwartier. Sandwich was their first port of call, after which Sandwich sent the request on to London.[79] This should not surprise us considering the strong connection between Sandwich and the Flemish Westkwartier. The churches received financial support, although it is not clear how much.[80] Antwerp also begged this church for support in 1573.[81]

There are scarcely any documents left from the Dutch Church in Colchester. What we do know is that when the communities of West Flanders applied for money to the foreign churches, the appeal was also addressed to Colchester.[82] The minister of Colchester, Theodorus van den Berghe, had left for Flanders, and the church looked around for a new minister in 1578. Van den Berghe served as a minister in Ghent until 1579.[83] He then proceeded to serve in Bruges at the request of the London Dutch Church.[84] Another minister of Colchester, Jan Migrode, went to Veere for the ministry in 1572 and asked Joris Wybo to do

77 Acta, p. 20.

78 We do not know which churches used this censure before the Lord's Supper, but the Dutch Church did until 1563, after which there had been talk of reinstituting it between 1569 and 1573, the years in which it was probably reinstated for a while, but it is not clear when the Dutch Church stopped using it after that. The Dutch Church had to reinstate church discipline in general in 1569 since the congregation still remained troubled, yet it feared that their superintendent would take their right to discipline church members away and only allow the ministers to preach, if the internal quarrelling did not stop. In any case, the Dutch Church used a watered-down version of this censure. Acta, p. 20. See Judith Becker, *Gemeindeordnung und Kirchenzucht: Johannes a Lascos Kirchenordnung für London (1555) und die reformierte Konfessionsbildung* (Brill, 2007), pp. 388–93.

79 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 367, pp. 355–56.

80 Ibid., Letter 380, pp. 364–65.

81 Ibid., Letters 224, 331, pp. 197–98, 301.

82 Ibid., Letter 521, pp. 486–88.

83 H.Q. Janssen, *Bescheiden aangaande de kerkhervorming in Vlaanderen*, Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging, 3rd ser., 3 (Utrecht, 1877), p. 18.

84 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 649, pp. 583–84; Acta, p. 509.

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the same.[85] Though the information about Colchester is limited, it is clear that they did send ministers to the Low Countries.

We have even less information about the smaller Flemish/Dutch congregations at Dover, Coventry, and Yarmouth. The foreign churches did need to provide ministers for these places, yet could often only find temporary ministers, as happened regularly at Maidstone. By March 1573 so many ministers of the London Dutch Church had taken up ministries in other churches, especially in the Low Countries, that the Dutch Church had to recall Jacob Regius (De Coninck) from Coventry to take up the ministry in London, leaving his congregation in Coventry which had been in his care since 1570.[86]

We have little more information about the provincial French and the Walloon churches in England. The only provincial congregation which left ample sources is Canterbury. Their surviving consistory acts for the period under consideration run from 1576 to 1577 and then from 1581 to 1584. The Walloon Church in Canterbury collected £5 for Wesel on account of that congregation's great poverty in 1577.[87] A little later that year, however, the Walloon Church had to make an extraordinary collection for the poor of their own community, as their own church fund was in arrears.[88] By 1581 the consistory was considering how to proceed with the members who did not want to help their own poor.[89] This demonstrated a heavy reliance for poor relief on a relatively small number of people. In May 1582 Canterbury received a request for financial aid for students from Antwerp. They decided to ask London whether they would be collecting, but London advised them to assist their own students from the English foreign churches instead.[90] The consistory collected money in support of the students every three months from 1583 onwards.[91] They also financially supported the minister of Rye that year.[92] The Walloon Church of Canterbury recorded that in 1577 a minister had come to England

85 Acta, p. 278.

86 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 230, pp. 205–6.

87 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, pp. 18–19; CCA, U47/A1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fols 18–19.

88 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, p. 44; CCA, U47/A1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 40v.

89 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581–1584*, p. 2; CCA, U47/A2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 2.

90 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581–1584*, pp. 42, 45, 51; CCA, U47/A2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 20, 21, 23.

91 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581–1584*, p. 112; CCA, U47/A2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 53.

92 Ibid.

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from Zeeland to express the need of the churches in the Low Countries for ministers and financial aid. The Walloon Church sympathized with the cause but could not commit for financial reasons.[93] In the same year churches in the Low Countries asked the Walloon Church at Canterbury on several occasions to send their ministers over.[94]

The archival sources of the French Church in London similarly do not contain many traces of help for the French-speaking Reformed churches in the Low Countries. Their documents are not as rich as those of the Dutch churches. The London French Church received letters from the Low Countries asking for a minister in September 1573.[95] They also, like Canterbury, decided to collect money to support the poor in Wesel in November 1571, while its poor fund was in arrears. They sent out the request to other congregations and eventually sent 7 *livres*, while the Walloon Church of Norwich donated another 7, and Southampton 3.[96]

Requests also came from France. In 1583 a church in France asked for Mr. Morel, the minister of Rye. The colloquium of the French churches that year did not respond to the appeal; instead, it discussed the financial aid Rye should receive.[97] The French Church did not experience a lack of ministers as it could draw on refugee ministers who had fled France after the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. French congregations regularly called away such refugee ministers who had been left without a ministry in England. The upkeep of the incoming refugees and refugee ministers after the massacre put pressure on the deacons and finances of the French Church. A few decades after the massacre, Simeon Ruytinck wrote the first history of the Dutch churches in England while he was a minister in the Dutch Church of London. He asserted that the stranger

93 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, p. 66; CCA, U47/A1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 61.

94 Anthoine L'Escaillet and Jacob Tardiff received letters to serve in the Low Countries. The church did not want to part with these ministers. In the end L'Escaillet seems to have gone to serve somewhere in the Low Countries. From Canterbury several members went to serve as ministers in the Low Countries; the elder Jan de Buyre went to the Low Countries in 1576 and in 1578 and minister Anthoine Lescaillet went to Middelburg in 1581 to attend the Walloon synod there as the deputy of the French churches in England. CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, pp. 85–87; CCA, U47/A1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fols 81–83, 118; 128, CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581–1584*, pp. 1–2; CCA, U47/A2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 1v; F.W. Cross, *The Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 15 (Lymington, 1898; reprint 1969), p. 77.

95 Actes du Consistoire II, p. 124.

96 Ibid., pp. 36, 57.

97 Colloques et Synodes, p. 6.

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churches saved fifty-seven ministers in the early 1570s by receiving and supporting them as refugees.[98] The French refugee ministers expected preferential treatment from the French consistory. These ministers demanded financial support but did not want to be associated with the poor relief and proposed a separate deacon's account. The French Church could not offer much separate support. It stood its ground and did not allow belittling and rude behaviour from the refugee ministers.[99] This was nonetheless the start of the 'Frenchification' of the French Church of London, which had previously often been called the Walloon Church.[100]

This 'Frenchification' is evident through the appointment of two new ministers in the London French Church after Cousin's death in 1574. One was Pierre l'Oiseleur, seigneur de Villiers, a Frenchmen who had close connections with Theodore Beza's Geneva and who had held several ministries in France, including Rouen. The other one was the Frenchman Robert le Maçon, sieur de la Fontaine. He was one of the founding members of the Calvinist Church of Orléans. Littleton pointed out that Orléans served as the Calvinist capital during the First War of Religion in France and that de la Fontaine, as we will call him, enjoyed contacts with "Huguenot leaders such as the Prince of Condé, Gaspard de Coligny, and Theodore Beza".[101] Both of these ministers were of noble descent. Neither expressed any reservations about using violence for religious reasons. More important in the context of this chapter is the condition they attached to their appointment, which was that one of them would be free to return to France specifically if freedom of conscience were granted and they were needed.[102]

The sources for the Dutch Church of London are far richer than those for the French Church. It passed on its own ministers to congregations in the Low Countries and encouraged its most suitable members to train for the ministry. In June 1572 the consistory of the Dutch Church gathered a few members to talk about the needs of the Netherlands. The acts do not mention what they required, but it might have been a potential training and move to a congregation

98 *Gheschiedenissen ende Handelingen die voornemelick aengaen de Nederduytsche Natie ende Gemeynten wonende in Engeland ende in bysonder tot London, vergadert door Symeon Ruytinck, Caesar Calendrinus ende Aemilius van Culenborgh*, ed. J.J. van Toorenbergen, Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging, 3rd ser., 1 (Utrecht, 1873), pp. 89–91, as quoted in Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle Street", p. 96.

99 Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 110–13.

100 Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle Street", p. 97.

101 Ibid., p. 99.

102 Actes du Consistoire II, p. 146.

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in the Low Countries to assist there as minister or elder.[103] A month later the consistory approached Pieter de Bert and Pieter Carpentier to serve the ministry in Holland. The Dutch Church in London was training these members, who were apprehensive of leaving immediately. The consistory also decided to seek the consent of their superintendent as well as the financial support of the notable members of the congregation.[104]

In 1572 the London Dutch Church received two requests, from Delft and Schiedam, for the services of Pieter Carpentier and agreed to send him to minister at Schiedam.[105] The churches were kept well-informed about the situation in the Low Countries through the ministers and deputies they sent out, and Carpentier in particular. Pieter Carpentier hoped that the refugees in London would not forget their brethren in the Low Countries, as well as the Prince of Orange, and implied that they should send more financial and spiritual support.[106] Carpentier also reported about the fast-day that was kept all over the country at the demand of Orange, as the Spanish had made several attempts on his life.[107] He kept the consistory informed about his own safety and that of the city of Schiedam. In 1573 Schiedam anticipated a Spanish siege, and the anxious Carpentier begged the Dutch Church to take care of his wife and children in London, presumably in the event of his death.[108] The deputy to Flushing, Lieven de Herde, had already reported in October 1572 about the slaughter taking place in the Low Countries, both at the hands of the Spanish and of Orange.[109]

London's chief Flemish minister, Godfried van Winghen, took it upon himself to spend time abroad for the ministry.[110] Van Winghen went to Dordrecht with minister Bartholdus Willemzn in August 1572 as he was happy to serve as a minister in Holland because "the enemy" was "growing [stronger]" every day. After a few months in Dordrecht, however, the Dutch Reformed Church there claimed they could not find him a ministry and declared his coming

103 Acta, pp. 273–74.
104 Ibid., pp. 294–95.
105 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 207, 210, 213, pp. 176–77, 178–79, 183–84.
106 Ibid., Letter 213, pp. 183–84.
107 Ibid., Letter 225, pp. 198–99.
108 Ibid., Letter 269, pp. 241–42.
109 Archivum, 2, Letter 122, pp. 430–36.
110 As we have seen, he went to Maidstone in 1572 and 1576. He also spent time in Dordrecht. A request in October and November 1578 to the London Dutch Church from the congregation and city council of Cassel for van Winghen's ministry in their town proved unsuccessful. The stranger churches consulted the Bishop of London, but could not find anyone else willing to take up the ministry there. Archivum, 3.1, Letter 579, 580, pp. 536–37; Acta, pp. 490–91.

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over had arisen from a misunderstanding.[111] Van Winghen returned dissatisfied to his ministry in London by the end of 1573. Despite this, Dordrecht and other communities continued to ask for ministers.[112] The Dutch Reformed church in Ysselmonde, for instance, asked the Dutch Church in London in 1574 to send Jan Lamoot, another member of the community and a friend of van Winghen, to become their minister.[113] In the same year the Reformed Church of Rotterdam requested that the London Dutch Church send Carolus, also known as Theophilus, Rijckewaert to them.[114] He might have preached there around 1572, but did not take up the ministry there in 1574.[115] Rijckewaert was minister of the Dutch community at Thetford.[116]

Requests flooded the churches. The minister Jacob Regius, having taken up the ministry of Ghent in 1578, told the London Dutch Church about the need for ministers in Oudenaarde, while the Reformed consistory at Ghent complained that they wanted ministers for Bruges, Eeklo, Hulst, Dendermonde, and Aalst.[117] Ghent also tried to acquire a minister for Axel from London in November 1578.[118] In 1578 the burgomaster of Ghent even considered demanding the return of entire Reformed congregations in England to the Low Countries to help stabilize the Reformed communities.[119] Another appeal from the southern Netherlands came from Poperinge, which church requested Jan Davelu in August 1578.[120] Not only individual churches applied; we learn that the Classis of Walcheren had approached London for ministers for the growing communities of Ghent and Antwerp. The Classis suggested Adrian Saravia, who took up the ministry in Ghent in 1578 and in Leiden in 1582.[121] He also

111 Archivum, 3.1, Letters 221, 233, 240, pp. 192–95, 209–10, 217–18; *Uw Rijk Kome. Acta van de Kerkenraad van de Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente te Dordrecht 1573–1579*, ed. Theo W. Jensma (Dordrecht, 1981), p. 1.

112 Archivum, 3.1, Letters 205, 206, 220, pp. 173, 174–76, 191–92; Acta, p. 284.

113 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 310, pp. 276–77.

114 Ibid., Letter 312, pp. 278–79.

115 Hendrik ten Boom, *De Reformatie in Rotterdam, 1530–1585* (Amsterdam, 1987), p. 155.

116 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 391, p. 371; Acten van de Colloquia, p. 4.

117 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 543, pp. 512–13.

118 Ibid., Letter 586, p. 540.

119 Ibid., Letter 534, pp. 500–504.

120 Ibid., letter 571, pp. 532–33.

121 Regius suggested sending Adrian Saravia to Flanders, while Dathenus wished to see Saravia in the Westkwartier in 1578. Archivum, 3.1, Letters 543, 544, 568, pp. 512–13, 529–30; Archivum, 2, Letter 160, pp. 590–92; C.S.L. Davies, "International Politics and the Establishment of Presbyterianism in the Channel Islands: The Coutances Connection", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50:3 (1999), 498–522 (p. 512); Willem Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia (c. 1532–1613): Dutch Calvinist, first Reformed defender of the English episcopal Church order on the basis of the ius divinum* (Leiden, 1980), pp. 43–44, 48–49.

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seems to have served as a minister in Flushing at some point between 1570 and November 1572.[122] Before that, he had served as an army chaplain with Orange in 1568.[123] Yet most appeals remained unfulfilled.

To accommodate these increasing demands for ministers, the Dutch Church decided in September 1578 to train its members Jan Davelu, Geraert Platteel, Jan Soillot, Johannes van Roo, and Jan van der Beke for the ministry with an eye to sending them to the Low Countries in the future.[124] Both the Dutch Reformed Church of Bruges and its city council wrote to London wanting the services of Jan van der Beke in 1579.[125] By 1580, however, the Dutch Church itself only had a single minister, van Winghen, and decided to appoint Jan Soillot, sometimes spelled Selot, and Johannes van Roo to their ministry.[126]

At the same time, the churches regularly sent some financial support to the Low Countries.[127] The foreign churches promised to send £100 to the Classis of Walcheren in May 1577.[128] The Classis also wished to receive minister Johannes Cubus. Having sent two brethren to visit the churches under the Cross, they knew there was a great lack of ministers in those churches.[129] At their instigation, the Dutch Reformed Church of Antwerp sent a letter to request Cubus.[130] The latter left for Walcheren with some money from the foreign churches. By

122 Actes du Consistoire II, p. 96, as Saravia requested assistance of the London French Church in November 1572 to receive payment from Flushing for his previous services there; Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, pp. 32–34.

123 Spicer, pp. 118, 131; Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, pp. 26–32.

124 Acta, p. 486.

125 Ibid., p. 535.

126 Ibid., p. 555. Maidstone borrowed Soillot in 1580 and 1581, after which he was urged to go to Bassevelde, as mentioned, leaving the Dutch Church to make another request for a minister for Maidstone. Archivum, 3.1, Letter 695, p. 610.

127 The church further received a few financial requests from the northern Netherlands. In 1575 the Reformed church of 's-Hertogenbosch asked the Dutch Church in London for financial support claiming that they had been visited by the plague, that trade was weak, and that the rich were turning away from the church and thus abandoning the congregation. Archivum, 3.1, Letter 315, pp. 284–85. The churches under the Cross of Nieuwkercke, Comen, and Wervik in the Westkwartier via Sandwich also asked London for financial help in November 1575, which they received. Ibid., Letter 380, pp. 364–65. The Church of Zierikzee and the town were so destitute because of the war that they begged for support from the London Dutch Church in 1576, while in 1577 they considered writing to John Aylmer, the Bishop of London, for help. The London Dutch Church sent them £10. Archivum, 2, Letters 152, 163, pp. 567–69, 599–602.

128 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 462, pp. 436–37.

129 Ibid., Letter 465, p. 441. The Classis also promised the community of Ghent a minister from London: Ibid., Letter 478, pp. 454–55.

130 Ibid., Letter 466, pp. 441–42.

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July, Cubus was serving at Antwerp.[131] A list of collections in 1577 for Antwerp from Southwark shows that the gifts were small.[132] Two years later the Dutch Church again made a special collection. On this occasion, the Church of Ronse had written to London for financial help following the pillaging in the town in 1579 and 1580.[133] They received £38 15s.[134]

The Dutch Church received an increasing number of requests from the southern Netherlands during the first half of the 1570s.[135] The church sent over considerable sums. In 1573, the Dutch Reformed Church of Antwerp begged the foreign churches for financial support, which was desperately needed to feed the poor during the winter.[136] Sandwich sent Antwerp their collection of £12 and another collection of the same value in 1575.[137] Norwich collected £21 for Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch in 1575 and the Dutch Church sent £63 to be divided among both churches, although this included the collection of Norwich.[138] Maintenance of ministers was another common reason for financial requests.[139] In November 1577 the London Dutch Church sent £25 to the churches of West-Flanders for this purpose.[140]

The endless, competing, applications for ministers and money increasingly led to frustration within the consistory. This frustration is evident in its responses to applications for the services of Assuerus Reghenmortel. In April 1579, the Dutch Reformed Church at Antwerp asked the Dutch Church in London for Reghenmortel, who was one of the students the London Dutch Church had supported in order to provide a pool of ministers.[141] The Flemish congregation of Bruges had also inquired about the ministry of Reghenmortel. When Brussels also attempted to obtain Reghenmortel, Antwerp argued that

131 Ibid., Letter 482, pp. 457–58.
132 Ibid., Letter 469, pp. 445–46.
133 Ibid., Letter 647, pp. 580–81.
134 Ibid., Letter 656, pp. 587–88.
135 The London Dutch Church received a letter from Ghent in June 1573 inquiring for a minister and financial support for the poor. Acta, p. 332. The churches under the Cross of Nieuwkercke, Comen, and Wervik in the Westkwartier via Sandwich also asked London for financial help in November 1575, which they received. Archivum, 3.1, Letter 380, pp. 364–65.
136 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 216, pp. 188–89.
137 Ibid., Letters 224, 331, pp. 197–98, 301.
138 Antwerp further petitioned the Dutch Church for a minister once more in May 1573 and in 1575. Johannes Cubus left Maidstone for Antwerp. Archivum, 3.1, Letters 245, 336, 338, pp. 222–23, 305–8; Acta, p. 462.
139 In 1576, for instance, Brussels had no means to maintain its minister and searched help from London. Archivum, 2, Letter 145, pp. 542–43.
140 Ibid., Letter 164, pp. 603–8; Archivum, 3.1, Letter 521, pp. 486–88.
141 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 604, pp. 550–51.

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they had the greater claim on him since he originated from Antwerp.[142] The London Dutch Church, however, wanted him to finish his studies first.[143] In 1581 Antwerp offered to repay his studies in exchange for his ministry.[144] By February 1582 London had promised Assuerus to Antwerp by Easter.[145] This did not please Antwerp since Assuerus's coming would not have been soon enough. Antwerp replied that most people who had contributed to Reghenmortel's education resided in the Low Countries again anyway so the London congregation would have no reasons to complain.[146] Reghenmortel eventually arrived at Antwerp to take up the ministry in June 1582, but the Dutch Church had demanded the payment of £80 spent on his studies.[147] In 1585, he resolved to return to the ministry in London.[148]

Another much sought-after student whom the Dutch Church sponsored was Daniel de Dieu who studied at Neustadt. The Reformed Church of Brussels requested his ministry in April 1580.[149] The consistory awaited his return from his studies.[150] Shortly afterwards Bruges as well as Ypres applied for his ministry.[151] By May 1581 the London Dutch Church had sent him over to Brussels, but only in return for a payment of all the money they had invested in his studies, as he had left them prematurely in order to serve as a minister.[152] This was done much to the dissatisfaction of many members of the London congregation, some of whom thought that the financial burden of educating the students was excessive and considered complaining to the Bishop of London about the consistory's decision.[153] By 1583, however, the Dutch Church wanted de Dieu back in its own service.[154] Initially, they let him stay in Brussels, where he was needed, but they tried to call on him again in March 1584.[155] At that point Brussels still did not want to release him, and the Dutch Church considered asking Jacob Regius to their ministry instead, but the latter refused

142 Ibid., Letter 656, p. 591.
143 Ibid., Letter 611, pp. 555–56.
144 Ibid., Letter 755, p. 651.
145 Ibid., Letter 769, p. 658.
146 Ibid., Letter 782, p. 665.
147 Ibid., Letter 788, pp. 669–70, Acta, p. 624.
148 Acta, pp. 772–73.
149 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 638, pp. 570–71.
150 Ibid., Letter 652, pp. 584–85.
151 Ibid., Letters 666, 670, pp. 593–95.
152 Ibid., Letters 712, pp. 624–25.
153 Ibid., Letters 726, pp. 634–35.
154 Acta, pp. 657, 664, 667.
155 Ibid., pp. 707–8.

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as well.[156] By October, however, Regius had fled back to England and resumed his ministry, since Ghent had fallen to the Spanish.[157] Regius still tried to send someone to Ghent for the ministry, but the Dutch Church answered that no one would be found since the ministers in England were all too well-known. Their presence, the consistory argued, would do more harm than good to the Ghent congregation, since the ministers in England would be recognised and face persecution in the Netherlands. Only the minister of Dover formed an exception, but his congregation refused to let him go.[158]

As the cases of Reghenmortel and de Dieu demonstrate, congregations frequently asked for students in the 1580s, but the London Dutch Church required the students to complete their studies first and do an internship within their own church to see whether the student was suited for the ministry.[159] Sometimes London persisted. Ypres requested Livinus, or Lieven, Cabiliau, who studied in Leiden, in November 1581 and March 1582, but London did not agree.[160] The Dutch Church had predicted the shortage of ministers and tried to resolve the problem by training some of its members for the ministry. As with the students, these members first had to finish their traineeship. The elder Claude Dotigny had received an appeal for the ministry from Bruges to serve in Westkapelle in October 1581, but the Dutch Church advised against accepting the call.[161] The member of the London Dutch Church Willem Artsen accepted a call for the ministry at Hannekenswerve, near Bruges, in July 1581.[162] Bruges requested another member, Johannes van Roo, for the ministry in November 1581.[163] He died in 1582.[164] Lucas van Peenen successfully finished his studies but also died soon after taking up a ministry in London in 1586.[165]

Students or candidates for the ministry did not always prove to the liking of the consistory. One ambitious member, Arnoldus de Stuer, aimed at becoming a minister and eventually left for the ministry of Brill. The consistory in London did not think him suitable enough for the ministry and sent a letter to Brill

156 Ibid., pp. 718, 730.
157 Ibid., p. 736.
158 Ibid., pp. 743, 745.
159 Acta, p. 617.
160 Archivum, 3.1, Letters 661, 760, 462, 773, pp. 653–55, 660–61, 589–90.
161 Acta, p. 607.
162 Ibid., p. 596.
163 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 575, p. 652. London refused to let van Roo go to Bruges in December 1581. None of the congregations would have enjoyed his service long, however, since he died in 1582. It is unclear where he died, but Antwerp, Brussels, and London exchanged letters about his death. Archivum, 2, Letters 197, 199, pp. 727–28, 734.
164 Ibid.
165 Archivum, 2, Letter 184, pp. 676–78.

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warning them about Arnoldus.[166] Another student from London, Abraham Bauters, proved a nuisance. He had studied in Neustadt after which he served the Dutch exile community of Frankfurt as a minister in 1581.[167] In 1582, he became minister in Bruges but, after what seems to have been a few weeks, took temporary leave to visit his father in England. Bauters then decided not to return and asked the consistory of the London Dutch Church to inform Bruges about his decision.[168] He left, however, unpaid debts in Bruges, which embarrassed the Dutch Reformed consistory there.[169] The same Bauters preached in his own house in Woolwich in July 1583 for a gathering of Dutch people living in the area, much to the annoyance of the Dutch Church which considered this contrary to secular and ecclesiastical regulations.[170] It is thus not surprising that the consistory did not want to send Bauters an attestation letter when he needed one to take up a ministry in Emden in 1586, stating that they

> rejoice to hear that you intend to lead a better life, but are sorry that we cannot give you a certificate, as your conduct, so far as we know it, has been so unbecoming, that we cannot state anything which could be of advantage to you. Your past life has been, and your natural condition is, such that we cannot advise you to accept any service in the Community; but the Lord has granted you many talents which you might employ in some other vocation.[171]

Despite the misgivings of the consistory of London's Dutch Church, both Arnoldus de Stuer and Abraham Bauters did seem to have become ministers in the Low Countries.[172]

Further requests in the first half of the 1580s mainly focused on financial support and the contributions were relatively high in this period. In September 1582, the London Dutch Church received an urgent call for financial

166 Acta, p. 331.

167 Archivum, 2, Letter 184, pp. 676–78; Ludo Vandamme, "De Calvinistische kerkorganisatie in Brugge, 1581–1584", in *Opstand en Verval: Aspecten van het dagelijks leven in het Brugse tijdens de laatste decennia van de 16e eeuw*, eds. A. Bauwens et al. (Bruges, 1987), pp. 33–54; see also his entry in Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek (hereafter NNBW).

168 Acta, p. 637.

169 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 838, pp. 701–2; Letter 854, p. 712.

170 Acta, p. 668.

171 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 1012, p. 817.

172 See the entry for "Arnoldus de Steur (Stuer")" in F.A. van Lieburg, *Repertorium van Nederlandse hervormde predikanten tot 1816. Deel 1: Predikanten* (Dordrecht, 1996); Bauter's entry in the NNBW mentions that he became minister in Leeuwarden. However, this is simply based on a call for his ministry there.

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support for Antwerp as the city had to take in refugees from the captured city of Lier. They consented to organize a collection among the congregation and donated £118 to Antwerp in October 1582.[173] By December 1582 the congregation of Brussels could no longer afford to pay their minister's salary and asked the London Dutch Church for assistance. London decided to spare the common man and consulted the wealthier members of the community for financial aid.[174] They collected £100.[175] In February 1584 both Ghent and Ostend begged the London Dutch Church for financial support.[176] The Dutch Church collected money but decided not to send it to Ghent considering the bad news coming from the city.[177] By June they promised to send the money only if the Reformed promised not to come to an agreement with "the enemy" there.[178] They collected at least £144 for Ostend and Ghent.[179] By June 1585 the prospects were not looking good for Ostend which was under siege. The London Dutch Church received another message for help, but this time its purpose was more explicit: they wanted soldiers to help defend the city. This was a problematic request for the consistory. They did not want anyone serving the church to undertake collections since these were not for the purpose of the poor nor the ministry. The aim of the request had nothing to do with the charity of the church. They thought therefore it better to charge the common brethren to collect money for the relief of the town and to ask the French Church for advice.[180] At this point Walsingham requested the stranger churches to help Ostend either with "men, money or ammunition" since the coastal town was strategically important. The Privy Council kept regularly pressing for money.[181]

Finally, the foreign churches also supported the Low Countries spiritually. All the churches regularly celebrated a fast and prayers which they usually

173 Acta, pp. 632, 634; Archivum, 2, Letter 199, pp. 734–36.
174 Acta, p. 641.
175 Ibid., p. 791.
176 Ibid., p. 706; Archivum, 3.1, Letter 879, pp. 730–32.
177 Acta p. 710.
178 Ibid., p. 722.
179 Ibid., pp. 726, 798.
180 Ibid., p. 763.
181 Archivum, 2, Letter 216, pp. 785–86. Hessels pointed out on p. 786 that Symeon Rutyinck who, while being minister of the London Dutch Church between 1601 and 1621, wrote a history of the Dutch Church up to 1620, mentioned that the Dutch congregation was "much burdened by order of Her Majesty's Council, by contributions towards the payment of captains and the levying of soldiers, and although the community excused itself on account of the great burdens it bore already, it was to no avail, the Council arguing that it was for the good of their fatherland." Hessels referred to *Gheschiedenissen*, ed. van Toorenenbergen, pp. 143–44. Archivum, 2, Letter 233, pp. 818–19, shows that the church eventually made the contribution requested.

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dedicated to the troubles of the churches in France and the Low Countries, a practice which was not unusual among Reformed churches.[182] In 1570 the consistory of Maidstone intended to observe a general fast day because they believed that persecutions on the Continent were increasing and they prayed for the deliverance of imprisoned and maltreated members of the consistory of Antwerp. They exhorted the London Dutch Church to do the same.[183] Slowly the emphasis changed from prayers for the brethren and churches across the North Sea to the struggle against Spain.[184] As we have already seen, the Southampton congregation devoted considerable effort to these fast days.[185] In the coetus meeting of 8 March 1575, the stranger churches decided to hold a fast at the end of the month in remembrance of "general affairs of the churches in France and the Low Countries".[186] Another fast was held in September of that year, this time in remembrance of "the great troubles in the churches of France and the Low Countries, as well by the wars in those places as because of the pest".[187] A fast was also held in February 1577 because of the "danger" in which the churches in France found themselves, while several other fasts took place for similar reasons in 1577 and 1578.[188] These fasts showed the churches' willingness to support the Reformation in the Low Countries in an orderly way, through praying and fasting.

3 The Foreign Churches in the Context of the English Church

As we have seen so far, the foreign churches were important for the survival of the Reformed churches in the Low Countries in the 1570s because they sent ministers over, but the liturgical and ecclesiastical influence of the stranger churches was limited. Moreover, the French and Walloon churches in England became more oriented to France, while the Dutch and Flemish churches slowly adopted ecclesiastical and liturgical practices from the Low Countries although there was still opposition to this, especially in Norwich. Their precarious position alongside the increasingly confident Elizabethan Church made them wary of adopting ecclesiastical practices from the Low Countries as well

182 Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 169, 184, 187, 189; Unity in Multiformity, pp. 58, 60, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 78, 79, 80, 81.
183 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 147, p. 105.
184 Unity in Multiformity, pp. 58, 60, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 78, 79, 80, 81.
185 See chapter 5.
186 Unity in Multiformity, p. 59.
187 Ibid., p. 61.
188 Ibid., p. 64; Archivum, 3.1, Letters 473, 528, pp. 451–52, 495.

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as restraining them from commenting on the upbuilding of churches in the Low Countries and on the English Church. Moreover, attempts at adopting, or rejection of, practices from the Low Countries together with the shifting mindset towards war, violence, and revolt sustained factions within the churches. Around 1569 to 1571 many members of the Dutch Church still took a strong dislike to Godfried van Winghen and Bartholdus Willemzn. A few told the consistory that they would rather go back to the Catholic Church, that these preachers were tyrants, and that they would have betrayed the ministers to the secular government had they been in the Low Countries.[189] In 1573, when van Winghen had returned from Dordrecht, some members protested against reinstating him as a minister in London.[190] Others, however, were concerned that the churches were not strict enough. As early as February 1570, Johannes de Grave, a rather conservative member of the Dutch Church, complained to the consistory that they had weakened the discipline and had allowed people to return to the church without making a public confession.[191] The stranger churches recognized the potential lacunae in the theological knowledge of Reformers who had not received any formal education and who were refugee ministers in England around 1572. They decided to set up theology lessons in Latin "for the exercise and profit of ministers in refuge here".[192] Significantly, the Coetus thought it necessary to seek the approval of the Bishop of London.[193] The churches had to tread carefully when making decisions concerning their churches and those in the Low Countries in order not to seem too aggressive.

The religious situation in the Low Countries was not the only factor which the churches needed to take into account. They attempted to balance their relations with the churches in their fatherland and those with the English Church, but they did not entirely feel at home in either. The foreign churches had their own liturgies and held considerable freedom to organize their congregation, in their own languages. Yet they were aware of the fact that their privilege to exercise consistorial discipline over their members, some of whom would have been English, could be taken away if they did not behave discreetly.[194] Despite a degree of autonomy, they recognized the authority of their episcopal superintendent, be he the Bishop of London or the Archbishop of Canterbury. They thus occupied an anomalous position in England as they had a Presbyterian church order yet acknowledged the authority of the

189 Acta, pp. 132, 240, 246, 249, 370–71.
190 Ibid., pp. 377–78, 380–81.
191 Ibid., p. 51.
192 Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 96, 99.
193 Ibid., p. 99.
194 Acta, p. 20.

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bishops. Collinson described Edmund Grindal, their first Elizabethan superintendent, as a Reformed superior pastor representative of the civil government rather than an ecclesiastical overseer in his dealings with the stranger churches. Relationships with other bishops were slightly less cordial.[195]

On the international scene the foreign churches had little to contribute in the period under consideration here. They made collections for Geneva in the 1580s, when England showed itself generous when the Protestants in that place were in need.[196] The Dean and Archbishop of Canterbury actually exhorted the Walloon Church of Canterbury to send financial aid to Geneva in 1583.[197] The Walloons collected £9. 6s.[198] The Privy Council urged the stranger churches to collect as well, and the Dutch Church handed over £92 1s. 2d. to John Bodley, elder of the French Church, of which £4 15s. 6d. came from Sandwich and £14 10s. from Norwich, to be sent to Geneva.[199] The churches' attitude towards the Continent in terms of church building should also be considered in the light of their presence in English society. The foreign churches still stood under English supervision, and English benefactors supported it with advice and money. This made the costs of sending aid to other congregations while maintaining their own poor and ministers more bearable at certain times. Alexander Nowell, the dean of St. Paul's, who had been a former Marian exile in Frankfurt, was one such a benefactor. Throughout his life, he was especially concerned with donating money for educational purposes.[200] The churches had asked him for advice in 1580.[201] A decade before, he had granted £40 to the poor of the Dutch Church, the same amount to the French Church, and £10 to the Italian Church.[202] In July 1571 Sir Henry Knollys, Sir Henry Killigrew, and Edward Grimmerston visited the Dutch Church and presented £10 in the

195 For more information on the relationship between the English Church and the foreign churches see Patrick Collinson, "The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 20:5 (1964), pp. 528–55.

196 Acta, p. 650.

197 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581–1584*, pp. 108–9, 111; CCA, U47/A2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 51, 53.

198 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1581–1584*, p. 112; CCA, U47/A2, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 53.

199 Acta, p. 668.

200 For more information on the person of Nowell, see his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary* of *National Biography*. For a description of his donation to the French Church and other benefactors see Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle Street", pp. 205–6.

201 Unity in Multiformity, p. 73.

202 Acta, p. 332. Written as Edward Grimmerston, possibly Edward Grimeston.

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name of the House of Commons.[203] After the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre the French Church received hundreds of pounds in financial support as the cruelty shocked English Protestants and brought refugees to England. The only surviving accounts book of the French Church was that of 1572–1573 and shows that persons and institutions throughout the country collected money for the French refugees. The aldermen and mayor of Leicester, for instance, sent £13 6s 8d, while by far the largest sum came from a collection which their superintendent Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, had made in his diocese of £320 5s. 4 1/2d.[204] Evidently, some Englishmen believed that the churches could use financial support.

At the same time the churches had to be careful not to upset the English Church and authorities by being too welcoming to Englishmen or by espousing radical Protestant doctrines. That the foreign churches were attractive to some English Protestants is evident from a petition of 1581 in which London clergy complained that many citizens had deserted their parishes to join the stranger churches.[205] In June 1572 a minister from a local church asked the Dutch Consistory in London for an attestation to preach in Flushing to English soldiers. The consistory listened to his case and examined his religious views and life but did not dare to give him an attestation, unless he had a recommendation from the bishop.[206] According to Patrick Collinson, some clergy blamed English preachers in the Low Countries and Germany for radicalizing English merchants who would come back feeling dissatisfied with the English Church. He showed the influence of the stranger churches in matters of church polity and worship. Collinson recounts several instances in which the stranger churches received financial aid from Puritans. Some Puritans had direct links with the strangers with whom they had become acquainted during their exile on the Continent. Collinson states that in the 1580s French communities in several counties had solicited local Puritans for financial support.[207]

When in 1581 the London clergy accused English preachers of radicalizing their congregations, they may have been thinking of Thomas Cartwright and

203 Ibid., p. 207.

204 Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle Street", pp. 204–5, 280; Soho Square, French Protestant Church of London, Ms. 194 *Deacons' Accounts*, 1572–3, fols 17, 30v, 120; Actes du Consistoire II, p. 100.

205 Petition to be found in the Bodleian Library, MS. Wood F. 30–32, as quoted in Collinson, "The Elizabethan Puritans", pp. 547–48, citing H.G. Owen, "The London Parish Clergy in the Reign of Elizabeth I" (PhD diss., University of London, 1957), p. 551.

206 Acta, p. 275.

207 Collinson, "The Elizabethan Puritans", p. 554.

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Walter Travers, who had ministered in the Netherlands to English merchants.[208] De Schickler emphasized that ties were especially strong between the Puritans and the French Church, less so in the case of the Dutch. Jean Cousin, the minister of the French Church between 1563 and 1574, was, for example, in contact with Beza, who was a friend of Cartwright.[209] Based on this correspondence, de Schickler suggested that the London French Church, or at least its minister, Cousin, was interested in the Puritan movement.[210]

The French Church was aware of the sensitivities in the English Church and of the problem the presence of the stranger churches in England caused. It therefore felt obliged to warn some of its English adherents to stay away from the Lord's Supper in 1573.[211] The English authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, were fearful that the presence of stranger churches would encourage the Puritans and others of an evangelical disposition who might therefore become a potentially destabilizing element in English society. The English government forbade the stranger churches to accept such Englishmen into their congregations. The Privy Council issued warnings on several occasions. In 1573 and at various other times the English government wanted to know which Englishmen attended the stranger churches rather than the English Church and prohibited the churches from receiving "curious Englishmen" at their services.[212] The churches denied entertaining rebellious Englishmen among its members.[213] Ironically, however, in 1574 Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressed disappointment with the "Anglo-Dutch Church" of London when it excluded a Dutch woman from the church and from the Lord's Supper for marrying an Englishman, "as if she had done something atrocious". He proclaimed to be surprised at such harsh treatment and at what he perceived as the desire of the churches to keep "yourselves apart from us", even though they had received so many privileges "on condition that these should not interfere with the laws of our Country and our Religion".[214]

In contrast to the involvement of foreigners in the English Church under Edward VI, the foreign churches after 1559 were careful not to interfere, so much so that consistory members of the Dutch Church in 1572 expressed their concern when members mocked the bonnets English ministers wore, as

208 Bodleian Library, MS. Wood F. 30–32, as quoted in Collinson, "The Elizabethan Puritans", 528–55 (pp. 547–48), citing Owen, "The London Parish Clergy", p. 551.
209 The Archivum holds several letters between Cousin and Beza.
210 de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge*, 1, pp. 207–9.
211 Ibid., p. 211.
212 Actes du Consistoire II, pp. 127, 195, 202; Archivum, 3.1, Letter 264, p. 239.
213 Archivum, 2, Letter 130, pp. 482–85.
214 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 301, pp. 266–67.

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mentioned in chapter 2.[215] They had good reasons to be careful, as the early 1570s was a period of religious tension in the English Church. In 1573 the Privy Council warned the London Dutch Church about "rebellious people" who had lately arisen and whom they suspected of abusing the authority of the stranger churches by saying that these despised the rites of the English Church.[216] In 1572 the Puritans asked for reforms in the English Church through the *Admonition to Parliament*, and a year earlier they had attempted to pass a bill "concerning rites and ceremonies". This bill demanded the freedom for clergy to omit parts of the prayer book with permission from their bishop and to use forms of the liturgy of the Dutch and French churches.[217] Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, summarized the demands of the *Admonition* as follows in a letter to the Zurich Reformer Henry Bullinger in 1573: "1. The civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters. He is only a member of the church, the government of which ought to be committed to the clergy. 2. The church of Christ admits of no other government than that by presbyteries; viz, by ministers, elders and deacons."[218] Sandys described the writers of the *Admonition* as seeking "a complete overthrow and rooting up of our whole ecclesiastical polity".[219] This could have had far-reaching consequences as the English Church was closely intertwined with Elizabethan politics, not least because Elizabeth was both the political head of the government and the supreme governor of the English Church.

As mentioned, the second point of Sandys's summary described the use of presbyteries proposed in the *Admonition*. This proposition demonstrated the precarious position of the stranger churches, since this was the form of church government to which the foreign churches were accustomed. Moreover, wrote Sandys, "[t]hese good men are crying out that they have all the Reformed churches on their side", and Reformed churches closest at hand would, of course, have been the stranger churches.[220] However, the stranger churches did accept the demands to keep Englishmen out and proclaimed their loyalty to the authority of Elizabeth and their superintendent, who at that point

215 Acta, pp. 216, no. 741.

216 Archivum, 3.1, Letter 127, pp. 456–59.

217 Claire Cross, *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church* (London/New York, 1969), p. 88.

218 *The Zurich letters, comprising the correspondence of several English bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian reformers, during the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Hastings Robinson, The Parker Society (Cambridge, 1842), vol. 1, letter 94, as copied by Cross, *The Royal Supremacy*, pp. 159–61.

219 Ibid.

220 Ibid.; as Collinson has also pointed out in "The Elizabethan Puritans".

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was Sandys. This is the reason why they did not comply with the wishes of the Dutch Reformed churches to form a Classis or to attend the synods in the Low Countries, lest these introduce "novelties", with "great danger to the whole church".[221] Moreover, the Puritan theologian Thomas Cartwright, who sympathized with the *Admonition*, wrote a reply to a comment John Whitgift, theologian and later Archbishop of Canterbury, had made against it. Cartwright had emphasized that "we ought to be obedient unto the civil magistrate which governeth the church of God in that office", but at the same time, he asserted, the civil magistrates had to govern in accordance with "the rules of God prescribed in his word".[222] With these words he entered dangerous terrain concerning the authority of the church over the ruler, a question the stranger churches also faced in the Low Countries, especially in connection with the question whether or not civil magistrates, and increasingly Philip II, could be deposed for not governing according to the word. John Whitgift himself wrote that "[t]hese words would be well considered, for they contain the overthrow of the prince's authority both in ecclesiastical and civil matters".[223] A little while later, Cartwright visited Theodore Beza in Geneva and was in contact with the Calvinist churches on the Channel Islands. The question was also one which concerned Beza, as his *De Jure Magistratuum* in 1574 had offered a controversial justification for revolt against the sovereign.[224] A connection existed between Cartwright, Beza, and the French minister Jean Cousin, as Beza asked the latter to greet the former.[225] Sandys, on the other hand, had spent his time in exile in Strasbourg.

This is interesting, not least because the controversy concerning obedience to magistrates again flared up in the London Dutch Church in 1570. The main proponents were van Winghen and Jan Enghelram, who, as we have seen in chapter 5, had defended complete obedience and opposed any form of violence. In 1570 the consistory admonished van Winghen for publicly expressing his views once more. The consistory obliged him to sign certain articles which declared that the magistracy was a divine office, but if

221 Archivum, 2, Letter 135, pp. 504–7.

222 *Works of John Whitgift*, ed. J. Ayre, The Parker Society (Cambridge, 1853), vol. 3, pp. 189–94, as copied by Cross, *The Royal Supremacy*, pp. 159–61, 163–64.

223 Ibid., p. 164.

224 Theodore Beza, *Concerning the rights of rulers over their subjects and the duty of subjects towards their rulers*, trans. into English by Henry-Louis Gonin, Introduction by Aart A. van Schelven, ed. A.H. Murray (Cape Town, 1956), pp. V, VI, 1, 5.

225 Archivum, 2, Letter 121, pp. 426–29.

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> anyone constitutes himself a lord or magistrate, against the laws and privileges of his country, or, being a magistrate, robs his subjects of their privileges and liberty or oppresses them, the ordinary magistracy should resist him, but in a legitimate way that there may be no occasion for sedition or rebellion.[226]

With this declaration, the Dutch Church effectively chose a path away from outright revolt and towards careful, legitimate resistance. These views could also lend support to Orange's resistance of the Duke of Alba, for he was exactly the sort of magistrate described in the last passage. The churches might not always agree with the ways and means of Orange's revolt, but through these articles they gave de facto support to the revolt of the Low Countries.

The historian Richard Greaves acknowledged that Elizabethan conformists and Puritans believed in political obedience, and under no condition would they sanction disobedience against their ruler, with the exception of a few thinkers such as John Knox.[227] Yet, the conduct of the stranger churches could set a dangerous precedent in England considering the instability of Elizabeth's reign, as she was very aware of potential plots. Similar arguments about political obedience from van Winghen and Jan Enghelram aroused controversy in the Dutch Church. Although they left some room for resistance and for legitimate actions through magistrates in conformity with the thinking of the church in the 1560s, which had supported such political responses, they completely condemned the right of resistance of private persons and the smashing of images. There was a great outcry among members against van Winghen and his supporters and the consistory even suspended him. Moreover, Bartholdus Willemzn complained in 1573 that two brethren who had slandered van Winghen in the controversy were admitted to the Lord's Supper in the London Dutch Church without making public confession.[228] In that way, the Dutch Church silently justified rebellious behaviour according to the circumstances. This could have provided a dangerous example for English dissenters.[229]

The position of the foreign churches as a component of the English Church also influenced the churches' own behaviour. They tried to keep their churches out of the spotlight and lead a quiet existence. The records of a colloquium of 1576 show that the churches needed to act "without doing any prejudice to

226 Archivum, 2, Letter 102, pp. 341–47.

227 Richard L. Greaves, "Concepts of Political Obedience in Late Tudor England: Conflicting Perspectives", *Journal of British Studies*, 22:1 (1982), 23–34 (pp. 31–34).

228 Archivum, 2, Letter 128, pp. 464–70.

229 Ibid., Letter 104, pp. 352–64.

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the freedom which our churches in this kingdom have used this far and are still using".[230] When in 1577 a member of the Walloon Church of Canterbury, Anthoine Scrive, did not want to subject himself to an ordinance concerning market regulations, the church described his action of amounting "to the contempt of all authority, and also the confusion and ruin of the church, and to the detriment of the poor, he was desired to consider thereof earnestly in order to submit thereto; otherwise we should be compelled (unless he produced other reasons) to impose silence on him".[231] The churches were acutely concerned with their reputation and recounted many instances in which they had heard rumours describing their members as drunk Flemings, a popular nickname for the strangers. There was also one instance in which a foreigner who was not of the congregation declared that outside the community many people laughed at those of the Dutch Church saying that just a day or two after the Lord's Supper they all go to the tavern.[232] This concern with their image and reception accorded with their discipline, which emphasized quiet and peaceful behaviour. Elders in other exile communities, in Wesel for instance, similarly reprimanded their members in order to limit any social disruptions.[233] When, however, Elizabeth made demands that the churches considered excessive, for example large financial contributions to the war effort, they were not afraid to respond negatively.[234]

Adrian Saravia offers an interesting case showing the intricate connections and tensions between the strangers and the English Church coming from a different view on the events in the Low Countries. This minister originated from Hesdin, in the province of Artois of the southern Low Countries, and before his conversion in 1557, he had been a Franciscan friar. In June 1561, he became a member of the Dutch Church in London where he was also in contact with the French Church. Indeed Nicholas des Gallars considered him as his successor. In 1562, he served as a minister of the Walloon Church under the Cross in Antwerp and helped establish a Walloon church in Brussels. He was also appointed as headmaster of Elizabeth College in Guernsey in 1563. He attended a synod in Antwerp in May 1566 and the assembly of the League of Nobles as a representative of the Reformed churches in Antwerp in July.

230 Acten van de Colloquia, p. 13.

231 CCA, U47/S, Transcriptions Cross, F.W., *Acts of the consistory of the year 1577*, pp. 81–82; CCA, U47/A1, *Actes du Consistoire*, fol. 75.

232 Acta, p. 263.

233 Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration*, pp. 88–89.

234 See pp. 191-92.

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Throughout his career, Saravia had staunchly attempted to involve the Dutch and English nobility in the problem of the Reformation and of the persecution in the Low Countries.[235] The Iconoclastic Fury, however, seems to have disappointed his hopes for the establishment of the Reformed movement in the Low Countries. He refused to return to the Low Countries later that year since the iconoclastic movement had disillusioned him.[236] Perhaps it was this disillusion and the hope of a more orderly solution which moved him to serve as an army chaplain for Orange in 1568. In other words, Saravia hoped that Orange, as a nobleman, would restore peace in the Low Countries. While he condemned common people rebelling against their sovereign as being disorderly mobs, he clearly supported the resistance of Orange, whom he had served as an army chaplain in 1568.[237] By 1572 he had left this position at Guernsey and settled in Southampton. During his time there, he served as a point of contact between the foreign churches and Orange, who pleaded him to collect money for his military ventures.[238] Saravia returned to the Low Countries at least twice to serve as a minister during the 1570s.[239] Significantly, he stayed in contact with English secular and ecclesiastical authorities during his time in the Netherlands and with Orange during his time in Southampton. When he served in Ghent between 1578 and 1582, he agreed with Orange in opposing the violent policies of the Calvinists in the city and later he blamed the loss of the Southern Netherlands on the behaviour of the Calvinists in Ghent during this period.[240] Saravia was also an anglophile and a resolute advocate of Elizabeth becoming involved in the Low Countries, about which he wrote detailed letters to the English Secretary of State, Francis Walsingham, in the 1580s. Through his extensive English contacts, he often served as a spokesman between Orange and Elizabeth's advisers.[241] Throughout his life, Saravia had been much concerned with obedience to royal authority and order; he was therefore opposed to monarchomach ideas, which he thought led to disorder, though he continued his support for Orange.[242] These ideas and his residence in England had also made him a defender of the English

235 Davies, 'International Politics'; Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, pp. 3–20.
236 Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, pp. 20, 25–31.
237 Ibid., pp. 26–31.
238 Ibid., p. 38.
239 See ibid., pp. 32–34, 41–45 for more information about Saravia's ministry in the Low Countries in the years under consideration.
240 Ibid., pp. 44, 79.
241 Ibid., pp. 92–95.
242 Ibid., pp. 244–54.

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Church and of the episcopal system against Roman ecclesiastical authorities, continental Calvinists, and Puritans.[243] He published *De diversis gradibus ministrorum Evangelii* (1590) which defended episcopacy and led him into arguments with Beza.

In several other cases the stranger churches showed their dependency on the Elizabethan court and their loyalty infuriated Reformers in the Low Countries. In 1575, the English authorities executed several Dutch Anabaptists in London. The stranger churches had tried, and failed, to convert them. The church received complaints, especially from Antwerp, about the consistory not trying hard enough to prevent the death of these Anabaptists.[244] In the early 1570s there were several reports from brethren to the consistory about Anabaptists among the members. A growing number of Dutch foreigners turned to Anabaptism. In 1572 one member even wanted to approach the Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury to complain about this and ask for help.[245] Many Reformers in the Low Countries, and increasingly the consistory of the Dutch Church, treated Anabaptists as weak Christians.[246] This contrasts with the attitude of the early Reformers of the stranger churches who excommunicated Adriaan van Haemstede for similar opinions.

4 Conclusion

The foreign churches decided to concentrate on fostering the Reformed churches in the Low Countries and their own churches in England, as their way of keeping the Reformed movement going in the Low Countries. They focused on the institutions, not on the war. They bore heavy burdens simply by maintaining the other congregations in England: they needed financial support for their poor, their ministers, and their students. The foreign churches saw these congregations as their priority. The maintenance of the churches seemed necessary to them since they believed that they would once more be

243 Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia*, pp. 141–45; Davies, "International Politics", pp. 512–13, citing *Texts concerning the revolt of the Netherlands*, eds. E.H. Kossmann and A.F. Mellink (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 282–85; Patrick Carter, "Clerical Polemic in Defence of Ministers' stipends during the English Reformation", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 49:2 (1998), 236–56 (pp. 252–54).

244 Archivum, 2, Letter 148, pp. 552–53.

245 Acta, pp. 298, 313, 333, 435, 437, 438.

246 Alastair Duke, "Martyrs with a Difference: Dutch Anabaptist Victims of Elizabethan Persecution", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 80: 3 (2000), 263–81.

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flooded with refugees if the Protestants failed to bring about freedom of religion in the Low Countries.

They tried to accommodate appeals for support and for ministers from the Low Countries as best they could. Yet much of the help they sent came as small sums and served therefore as token payments. Although the help they sent to these communities served to maintain the Reformed churches in the Low Countries in which many strangers believed and hoped fervently to return to soon, their support arguably also contributed to the war effort as it created a Reformed front in the Low Countries, especially important for church building in areas under Orange's control. Some of the support provided poor relief in areas afflicted by war, as, for instance, when the Reformed churches in Antwerp took care of the refugees from the ransacked town of Lier.

The churches had other responsibilities, for example the support of plague victims, repairs to their church buildings, help for their own poor, and their students. There was a constant need for clergy. They were unable to collect huge sums of money, especially compared to some of the collections made for the war in the Low Countries mentioned in the previous chapter. This again shows the financial constraints which limited the foreign churches. With the exception of individual members who could have potentially contributed large sums of money but did not do so, the churches could not afford to give large-scale support the Low Countries. They received too many appeals and many of the foreign churches were too small to offer effective support to both the military cause and the Reformation in the Low Countries. However, in the second half of the 1570s the foreign churches did form an important source of ministers sent over to resurrect Reformed churches in the southern Netherlands. The London churches played a pivotal role in the provision of such ministers. However, in Norwich, the largest provincial congregation, the Dutch Church turned away from the Low Countries and the network of Reformed refugee churches in England.

The strengthening of the Reformed churches throughout the Low Countries, and especially in the northern Netherlands inspired the formation of networks and general meetings or synods. This did not, however, prevent the foreign churches from becoming partially estranged from the Low Countries' Reformed churches. In effect, they occupied an anomalous position. The superintendents of the foreign churches refused to allow them to form Classes or attend synods. The foreign churches functioned with difficulty on the margins of the English Church: they had the right to be purely Reformed, yet they were also estranged from the Low Countries partly because they accepted English authority and indeed wanted to maintain this privilege. For that reason, the

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churches needed to be careful in their dealings with English sympathizers who occasionally donated money to them.

Chronologically, there was a difference between the periods 1568 to 1575 and 1576 to 1585. Whereas in the first period, financial and war contributions dominated, later on the foreign churches concentrated on the maintenance of churches and the provision of ministers. Although the foreign churches provided ministers and contributions to the Low Countries, their other financial needs prevented them from giving adequate support and many requests went unfulfilled. What is also apparent is that while the stranger churches were prepared to support the Dutch Reformation, this support did not translate automatically into support for William of Orange.

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Conclusions and Afterthoughts

This is not a story about how the foreign churches thrived in exile and helped Reformed churches in the Low Countries to flourish. Instead, it is a demonstration of the profound dilemmas the foreign churches faced in their engagement with events in the Netherlands and their lack of a coordinated response. Just like other Protestant movements during the sixteenth century, the foreign churches faced dilemmas concerning resistance and revolt which had an impact on their functioning and on their responsiveness towards the Low Countries. In contrast with the ecclesiastical accomplishments of the Strangers' Church, the foreign churches in the Elizabethan period were often unable or unwilling to contribute strategically to the development of the Reformed churches in the Low Countries. There were several reasons for this, which included struggles for authority in the consistories, theological reservations about justifying the use of violence, their embeddedness in the English political and religious landscape, and money and resources. Although a militant group which had been very influential for the Reformation and resistance in the Westkwartier was present among the membership of the foreign churches, the consistories in London were initially hesitant in their support for any type of violence or for William of Orange. While the foreign churches wanted to support the development of the Reformation in the Low Countries, self-preservation became a priority in the 1560s and 1570s. This book not only demonstrates that events in the Low Countries deeply affected the foreign churches in England, but also that the foreign churches were not the uniform hotbeds of radicalism which scholars of the Dutch Revolt sometimes presume them to have been.

Building on a larger tradition of Reformed writings with a similar vocabulary, leading members of the Strangers' Church nonetheless helped to lay the foundations for resistance in the Low Countries through their condemnation of the secular authorities' persecution of Reformed Christians. At the same time, Reformers in London advocated obedience to secular authorities, and some indeed even preferred the "good parts" of the Catholic faith to the prospect of disorder, and they urged Reformed Christians to deal with persecutions by choosing patience and exile. This rhetorical emphasis on orderly behaviour was not only based on scripture, especially the Pauline doctrine of obedience, but also from Reformers' pleas for legal recognition of the Reformed faith. The Reformers did leave open one potential way of circumventing the authority of a tyrannical monarch, that is through the legal intervention of a member of the inferior magistrates, and thereby within the practice of godly governmental order. Despite their depiction of the secular government in the Low

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Countries as a necessary evil only to be combatted through prayers, they could not theoretically bring themselves to sanction unbridled resistance from the people. These ideas shaped the varying behaviour of the foreign churches towards the resistance and revolt in the Low Countries and determined how far people could take their religious zeal. As refugees in a foreign land who were permitted limited rights of worship in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I, they must have always been aware of the need to demonstrate obedience to authority. This was something deeply engrained in their theological thinking though it was severely tested when violence erupted in the Netherlands. Just as Queen Elizabeth wrestled with the problem of aiding rebels in a foreign land, so too did the stranger churches have the same dilemma regarding how best to deal with the situation. Looking at it from this angle, we are made aware of the many conflicting viewpoints within the stranger congregations, between London and the provinces, and between various ministers and elders at different times.

It is common in the historiography of this topic to feel that there was an inevitable willingness on the part of the foreign churches to come to the aid of the Dutch Revolt. While this is broadly correct, what has perhaps been underestimated is, first, the constraints under which the stranger churches operated in England; secondly, the degree to which theological thinking on the nature of authority and obedience led to quarrels on how best to offer aid, if at all; and thirdly, the extent to which the support that eventually came was for the Dutch Reformation, rather than for William of Orange. The help the foreign churches offered, or did not offer, to the Dutch Revolt, Protestant resistance, and the Reformation at various times reflected their sentiments towards resistance as well as their own financial situation. Some foreign churches held back from full involvement with the Low Countries at several junctures, while others tolerated militant members who actively engaged in the acts of resistance. The engagement that we have seen through frequent exchanges of ministers, regular provision of ministers, attendance of synods, and correspondence about important matters of theology knew limitations. We detect a reluctance to becoming involved as congregations faltered in meeting the appeals for men, weapons, and money, as so often requested after 1566. The foreign churches struggled with their identity and sense of belonging. They were dependent on the English church and at the same time gradually diverged from the Reformed churches in their native country.

To speak of the refugees or refugee churches as a whole as vital contributing factors to the social and political upheavals in the Low Countries during the 1560s and 1570s would be to exaggerate the efforts of particular groups within the larger communities, and especially those within Sandwich or Southampton.

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Instead various groups used the migrant communities in England as havens for gathering money, political support, and soldiers. These included militants from the Westkwartier area and networks of merchants and nobles. This does not mean that there were not at times connections or overlaps between those groups and consistories. Studying the consistories' actions towards the Low Countries is, of course, just one way of examining their involvement. Yet it creates a larger framework within which to consider the fact that individuals might have engaged more actively in the overthrow of Spanish rule in the Low Countries. The next stage in research on the connections between the refugee churches and events in the Low Countries would be to study particular networks and actions of individuals among or even outside the refugee communities who migrated to England or the Holy Roman Empire. Ole Grell has explored the links between the merchant communities and the stranger churches, but more work remains to be done.[1] English merchants were also regularly present in the churches and supported the Revolt in various ways. George Ramsay has demonstrated the influence of English merchants in the Dutch Revolt.[2] Most remarkable is his mention in a letter of 1573 which states that sympathetic Englishmen and merchants had collected most of the contributions from the Dutch community in London for the Revolt, in that year at least.[3] Less Anglo-centered, however, Jesse Sponholz has laid a first step in identifying Reformed networks among refugees in his study on the Convent of Wesel. He described how the articles of the convent must have travelled around for signatures, and it is indeed remarkable that those people who had signed the articles were not always members of the consistories. Spohnholz's analysis of Petrus Dathenus's network demonstrates the divisions among Reformers concerning ecclesiastical and political issues, which had the potential to run deep, especially in England with its connections to the troubled Westkwartier area.[4] This book has demonstrated that these divisions did indeed run deep and ran through communities, changing in time and under local and international pressure.

The comparative approach in this book provides fresh insights that previous studies may have overlooked since they usually concentrated on one or two

1 Ole P. Grell, "Merchants and Ministers: The Foundations of International Calvinism", in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, eds. Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, and Gillian Lewis (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 254–73.

2 George D. Ramsay, *The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Manchester, 1986).

3 Archivum, 2, Letter 123, pp. 437–42.

4 Jesse Spohnholz, *The Convent of Wesel: The Event that Never Was and the Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 2017).

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individual communities in England or on a particular town. Considering the weight of their sources, it is not surprising, however, that the London churches still take centre stage. Any historical study is naturally constrained by the nature of the surviving sources. New questions may help in stirring debate about old narratives, but there is no escaping the fact that the documentation for smaller communities is often seriously deficient. Nor is it easy to find documents on the thinking and actions of people who necessarily felt constrained to obey authority of several kinds. It is also worth remembering that we are chiefly looking at the writings of the elites within these congregations; we rarely hear the views of ordinary members, let alone those of the many migrants who decided not to join the foreign churches. The story of the French churches' views on the Low Countries remains understudied, partly because of a lack of sources for the French churches in England, and partly because of their frequent orientation towards France.

I have concentrated on those who had misgivings about resistance because the historiography has up to now tended to focus on the militant refugees. But my concern has been to discover the responses of the actual churches. One of the problems I have encountered within this research is the relative lack of information about the militant Reformers and their relations with the consistories. I therefore do not wish to downplay the militant members' influence on the Low Countries but to show the concerns of the foreign churches and how these affected the church government. Reviewing the fuller spectrum of behaviours and views among the stranger churches towards revolt and reformation in the Low Countries helps placing the militancy of a part of the migrant population into a wider context. Another difficulty is that despite the ambivalence to, or downright rejection of, violence within the foreign churches and despite the emphasis on obedience, consistory members might still in practice have put their ideals aside privately or secretly, for which we have no documented evidence. At the same time, many of the well-trodden sources used in this study are open to interpretation. We will perhaps never find out just how the consistories managed events in the Low Countries and England behind the scenes, yet we can now better appreciate how complicated the story is.

The analysis of the churches' views and behaviour also has consequences for the ways in which we think about the relationship between exile, radicalization, and confessionalization. While consistories attempted to be strict, at least in London – for consistory records only survive patchily for provincial churches – examples of dissenting opinions, for instance on notions of freedom, and internal struggles over theological and ecclesiastical differences demonstrate how difficult this was in practice. The Dutch Church of London began by wanting to control the behaviour of its members too strictly and

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consequently nearly fell apart during the 1560s. When they disagreed with or disliked a decision of the consistory, members could easily decide to join parish churches or other Reformed churches.[5] The relationship between exile and radicalization is not as simple as it has often been presented. Questions of resistance divided the Dutch Church internally as well as in their relationship with other churches in England and the Low Countries. The divisions were so serious that in 1569 Philips of Marnix counselled the consistory to cease ruling so tyrannically over the consciences of its members and afford them more freedom, for instance concerning the godparents, but also with respect to their feelings about iconoclasm.[6]

Militant radicalism did not automatically develop in exile either. Usually people became militant before they fled, for instance when they participated in iconoclasm, armed preaching, or prison breaking. That some used Sandwich as a basis for activism and attack on the Westkwartier does not mean that they became 'radical' in exile. The same can be said about those migrants who decided to join the army of William of Orange or the Sea Beggars out of financial considerations. Moreover, it is difficult to use the category of exile to describe militants from the Westkwartier, or for many of the other migrants in fact, as they returned to the Low Countries frequently. Yet I still use this descriptor, in conjunction with the terms 'refugee' and 'migrant', to describe the various motivations or foreign churches' members in migrating to England. The Dutch Church in the 1560s did not encourage members to return to the Low Countries. When considering exile as a theological category, some Reformers would have discouraged a return to the Low Countries as being both physically and spiritually dangerous. The consistories frequently condemned migrants who, while travelling through the Low Countries, spiritually polluted themselves by participating in Catholic practices.

Research on resistance in the refugee churches in the Holy Roman Empire would lead to similar conclusions. In Wesel, for instance, scholars usually emphasize the case of refugees who supported the rebel cause through money collections, planned invasions, and plotting against Philip II's government in 1568,

5 For a broader analysis and examples of this and a comparative perspective see Jesse Spohnholz, 'Exile Experiences and the Transformations of Religious Cultures in the Sixteenth Century: Wesel, London, Emden, and Frankenthal', *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*, 6:1 (2019), 43–67.

6 Marnix van St Aldegonde, "Advys aengaende den twist in de Nederduytsche kercke tot London in Engellandt (1568)", part two: "Van ende aen denselven als de voorgaende (1569)", in *Philips van Marnix van St Aldegonde, godsdienstige en kerkelijke geschriften*, ed. J.J. van Toorenenbergen (The Hague, 1871), pp. 135–82 (pp. 174–78).

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but there is as yet no properly balanced account of their views.[7] The city council of Cologne regularly had less of a problem with the religious views of the migrants than with their potential involvement in the Revolt.[8] Moreover, Jesse Spohnholz has already demonstrated similarities between Emden, Wesel, and London in other regards; that is in the ways in which the churches downplayed confessional differences among their hosts and in the broad spectrum of intellectual differences that their memberships maintained.[9] Wesel's immigrants were largely embedded in the supraconfessional city church, while Emden's refugees operated in a broadly reformed civic church. The foreign churches in England also did not operate entirely independently from the English Church. On the contrary, they showed themselves submissive to the authority of the bishops under whose jurisdiction they were and often asked for their support and advice. In contrast with the Strangers' Church, the foreign churches did not interfere in local theological and ecclesiastical affairs but respected their confessional differences. The foreign churches consulted their bishops when taking decisions or when internal struggle divided them. The minister Adrian Saravia even became a defender of the episcopal system that characterized the English Church. Consistorial members of the foreign churches were often stuck between competing loyalties and between values and practical considerations. This study forms part of and encapsulates a very recent paradigmatic shift in the scholarly understanding of migrant communities which reconsiders both the terminology of mobility and migration and shows greater intellectual and religious variety among the migrants in exile communities than has hitherto been acknowledged. It was their versatility in fact which seems to have ensured that the churches did weather the difficulties they faced during the period under consideration. Some of these churches survive to this day.

7 Jesse Spohnholz, "Calvinism and Religious Exile During the Revolt of the Netherlands (1568–1609)", *Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, 32:3 (2014), 235–64 (p. 239).

8 Peter Gorter is currently completing a doctoral study on the Reformed refugee communities of Cologne, Frankfurt, and Aachen at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, which will shed more light on the subject.

9 Spohnholz, "Exile Experiences and the Transformations of Religious Cultures".

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